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ABSTRACT

Several articles dealing with bilingual education and language acquisition among American Indians illustrate problems representative of this ethnic minority. The major article by W. Miller considers the Shoshoni language as an "obsolescing" language, and a bibliography of the Numic languages is included. The information exchange section reports on: (1) a conference on child language, (2) summaries and excerpts from conference papers, (3) population change, (4) Indian student leadership and inservice training, (5) language instruction, (6) English kindergarten for speakers of Miccosukee, (7) films for classroom use, (8) student publications, (9) American Indian Historical Society periodicals, (10) teacher corps, (11) Title 7 projects for Indian languages, and (12) local resource materials. Books reviewed include "Conceptual Learning," "Early Childhood Bilingual Education," and "Adapting and Writing Language Lessons." Several short stories are also included. (RL)

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LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

A Newsletter of the Office of
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Bureau of Indian Affairs
United States Department of the Interior

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

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WINTER 1972

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FOREWORD

With the Winter 1972 issue the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Office of Education Programs brings to you the eighth in this series of newsletters. In the Language Arts Branch of the BIA, we have recently seen clear indications of a renewed interest in the problems of language acquisition for Indian and Alaskan children. Many of the articles and reports in this issue, including the report on the Chicago Conference on Child Language, provides further evidence of a renewed concern with language acquisition and bilingualism. In our opinion this interest already shows evidence of creating its own kind of unrest, especially in Indian education circles. Signs of this healthy unrest are expressed in the viewpoints and theories of Siegfried Engelmann reviewed in this Winter 1972 issue.

It is our sincere hope (and the very purpose of this newsletter) to assist in the formation of valuable directions in language education in the midst of this unrest.

Robert J. Rebert
Chief, Branch of Language Arts
Bureau of Indian Affairs

INTRODUCTION

All those who are concerned with the schooling of American Indian children are aware of the increasing attention that is being paid to bilingual education. Throughout our country - from the Miccosukee, (or Mikasuki) community in Florida to the Yuk in Alaska, from the Pasamaquoddy in Main to the Pomo in California - school systems with a large enrollment of American Indian students are developing programs that will bring the language and culture of the students into the classroom. As might be expected, this is a time of experimentation and innovation, a time in which a variety of approaches and emphases are being considered. It is much too early, of course, to see any general pattern, to make any firm predictions about the future of bilingual education and the various forms it might eventually take. But by reading through the articles and reports in this issue, teachers should be able to identify at least some of the crucial questions that are being raised in the planning of language programs for the American Indian student.

The lead article, by Professor Wick Miller of the University of Utah, focuses on one of the central issues that must be taken into account in the planning of programs that involve an American Indian language. He begins by suggesting a system for classifying a language by the role it is presently playing in the community: It may be a flourishing language (like Navajo), an obsolescing language (like Shoshoni), or an obsolete language (like Serrano). His term obsolescing language is then developed and clarified through a detailed description of the present roles played by English and Shoshoni in a typical Shoshoni community. In conclusion, Professor Miller makes several brief and tentative suggestions about ways in which Shoshoni might be introduced into educational programs. One of his main theses - one that is too often ignored in the planning of bilingual curricula - is that the role of a language in the school should have a direct relationship to the

role the language plays in the community. A curriculum designed for a flourishing language such as Navajo will be very different from one designed for an obsolescing language such as Shoshoni. There is little justification, for example, for teaching any subject matter through Shoshoni. In the Shoshoni community, Miller suggests, the language might well be brought in as a subject in itself. Through the study of Shoshoni, the student might not only increase his understanding of his own culture; he might also gain linguistic insights which he can use in the study of English. Hopefully, Miller and others will explore this subject further. For it is only through a careful definition of the goals and purposes of the language course that genuinely effective teaching materials will be produced.

In the Information Exchange, the majority of reports and announcements deal with bilingual programs in one way or another. Charles Kozoll and Edward Heneveld (Mr. Kozoll is with the Southern Regional Education Board in Atlanta, Georgia) report on the use of American Indian languages in a workshop for teachers in the BIA schools. Here the teachers were given a "shock" course in an Indian language by high school students who were native speakers. David Garnett (Mr. Garnett is with the BIA in Albuquerque) reports on a kindergarten program he designed for Micco-Sukki speakers in Florida. Ernest and Nanette Bulow, both of whom have taught at Fort Wingate High School in New Mexico, point out a number of ways in which the teacher can make effective use of "local resources" - of Indian members in the community - to introduce Indian culture and history into the classroom. Two films for bilingual programs (one for natives in Alaska, the other for Navajo in Utah) are announced. An announcement of a new bilingual newsletter (in English and Lakota) is included. And student publications prepared by American Indian pupils are briefly reviewed.

One section of the Information Exchange deals with the Conference on Child Language held in November of 1971 in Chicago. The papers given at this Conference were devoted to language acquisition and language learning in situations where more than one language was involved. While only a few of the papers dealt directly with American Indian children, many of them had important implications for teachers in communities where an American Indian language is spoken.

The Materials sections is devoted to three long and detailed reviews of books that should prove to be of particular interest to the teachers of American Indian students. Engleman's CONCEPTUAL LEARNING has a number of useful suggestions for the content of a beginning language program, whether in a first or second language. Vera John and Vivian Horner have produced a very interesting sum-

mary of the issues involved in bilingual education for young children. And Earl Stevick's book is one that all those involved in materials production for language classes should read. The preparation of original materials is an enormously complex and demanding task, as anyone who has ever tried to write a series of language lessons knows. Stevick suggests that the most efficient approach to materials may often be adaptation of lessons that already exist. His excellent book includes, among other things, a set of criteria for determining which materials are most easily adapted; and it also includes concrete suggestions (with examples) of the kind of adaptation that can be effected.

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OBSOLESCING LANGUAGES: THE CASE OF THE SHOSHONI

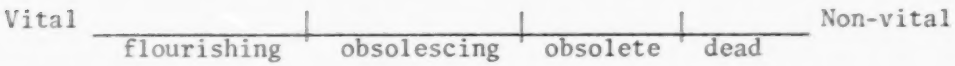
by

Wick R. Miller

Recently a number of programs have been initiated which make use in one way or another of an American Indian language. The recognition of the linguistic integrity and dignity of the language, often explicitly stated in descriptions of these programs, represents a major about-face from the earlier approaches that attempted to stamp out all languages but English and to insist that English must be used in every subject and in every classroom situation. All this can be seen, of course, as part of a larger change in the way in which other cultures are being valued by a significant portion of American society. Not so very long ago, Americans were often arrogantly enthocentric in their insistence that all those with a different cultural background become "Americanized", and "Americanization" assumed among other things that the native language would be replaced by English. Now it appears that a number of people, among them those in a position to determine policy, have adopted what many of us would consider a more enlightened position, a position that recognizes the integrity and dignity of other cultures and of the languages through which they are expressed.

But unfortunately, in our haste to atone for the sin of our fathers, we seem to have gone too far in the opposite direction. In many curricula, we have insisted on a full and equivalent role for the American Indian language, without regard to the linguistic and cultural context in which that language is used. One of the most important considerations that must be weighed in the planning of a bilingual program - and one that is overlooked with embarrassing regularity - is what I would like to call the vitality of a language. Vitality, as I conceive the term, might be regard-

ed as a continuum in which it is possible to identify at least four significant segments. These four segments can readily be summarized in the following graph:



Let me comment briefly on each of the segments of the continuum. In a flourishing language community, English is used on almost all occasions as a second language. Children entering school know little or no English, and adults (except perhaps on special occasions) will not use English among themselves. In this sense, Navajo could be regarded as a flourishing language. Most of the Pueblo languages of the Southwest are also flourishing, as are many of the Indian languages spoken in northern Canada and in Alaska.

On the other hand, Shoshoní, along with most of the languages of the Great Basin and many of the languages of the Plains, is an obsolescing language. Like all obsolescing languages, Shoshoni is still being used as a vehicle for social interaction, but the settings in which it is used are restricted. Not all (and in some cases, none) of the children still learn the language. And if it is being learned, normally English is also being learned at the same time. Thus in communities with an obsolescing language, English cannot really be regarded as a second language. Young children are in fact learning both languages at the same time.

An obsolete language is known (better, remembered) by some of the adults in the community, but it is rarely used, except perhaps to give comfort to a visiting linguist doing field work on the language. Technically, of course, such a language is still living; and it is still possible to develop a relatively full linguistic analysis of the language. But sociologically, the language is dead. In another fifty years or so, there will be no more speakers. Most Indian languages of California, and many of those in the Northwest, are obsolete languages. One example is Serrano, a language of the Southern Californian desert that is remembered by only half a dozen people.

When there are no more speakers of a particular language alive, that language is said to be dead. There may be records of the

language transcribed and on tape, but the language is no longer living. Sadly enough, it is not at all difficult to find examples of dead languages in the United States. All areas of the country are represented, but one can point especially to the Northeast, where a large number of indigenous languages were once spoken, languages that now have no living speakers.

In the planning of bilingual programs, of course, priority has been given to the flourishing languages. The case for including such a language in the curriculum can more easily be made, though the degree of emphasis it should receive (for example, should mathematics be taught in Navajo?) is still being debated. But the obsolescing languages have to date received far too little attention. Since they are still used as vehicles for social interaction, they cannot and should not be ignored in planning for educational programs where language is an important ingredient. The exact role they are to play, however, is a question that is yet to be resolved - a question that can be decided only after careful and detailed study of the communities involved.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the social and cultural background of one such language, namely Shoshoni. Naturally, some of the specific points made will apply only to this language. But since Shoshoni is in most respects typical of an obsolescing language, many of the issues raised will be relevant to other communities where language shift is taking place.

Aboriginal Setting and Contact

Shoshoni belongs to the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan family of languages. The Numic languages fill almost the entire Great Basin (Nevada and Utah, along with adjacent parts of California, Oregon and Idaho), spilling over into the Plateau to the north, and the Plains to the northeast and west. Shoshoni, one subgroup of Numic, stretches from Death Valley in eastern California through southwestern Wyoming. The Comanche of the southern Plains speak a dialect of Shoshoni, but culturally belong to the Plains rather than the Great Basin. There are two other subgroups of Numic, one to the west of Shoshoni (Northern Paiute, Bannock, Mono, Paviotso), the other to the south (Southern Paiute, Ute, Chemehuevi, Kawaiisu). My concern here will be with the Western Shoshoni, only, that is, those in the Great Basin proper, in Nevada and Utah; I will also exclude the Panamint Shoshoni of California.

Before the coming of the white man, the Shoshonis were a hunting and gathering people. There were no political or social units

larger than the family. In this semi-arid land, economic resources were limited and unpredictable. Thus, the population density was very low, and extensive seasonal migration was necessary. For many months of the year, a family would live alone, or almost so. Larger groupings of a half a dozen or more families took place during the rabbit hunts and "fandangos" in the fall, and at the winter camps or villages. The particular groups varied from year to year, depending on conditions from season to season. Thus it can be seen that one's linguistic neighbors were not only few, but also variable.

The aboriginal hunting and gathering economy collapsed with White settlement of the Great Basin in the 1860's and 1870's. An attempt was made to remove the Western Shoshoni to the reservation of Owyhee in northern Nevada and southern Idaho. Today, approximately 500 Shoshonis live at Owyhee along with 400 Northern Paiutes. But most of the Western Shoshonis, from 1,000 to 2,000, are scattered throughout the Great Basin. Some live on small reservations set up within the past 50 years, in numbers from 50 to 100. Others live in what are locally called Indian Colonies, small settlements of from 50 to 300, found on the outskirts of major towns. In addition, there are some scattered families living in towns and on ranches.

The Bilingual Individual

There are only a few monolingual Shoshoni speakers left, all old people, and even they know a number of English words and phrases. Those in the middle years normally speak good Shoshoni, and English that ranges from poor to good. Older people tend to have learned their English while employed as ranch hands or as domestics, with the variety normally substandard English. The younger he is, the more likely he is to have learned it in school. The English of such people is usually better and less apt to be substandard, which might lead one to the belief that the quality and type of English depends on the setting in which it was learned. But if we examine the English of people of about the same age, there doesn't seem to be any difference between those who learned the language in these two different settings. Difference in age seems to be the most critical factor, which probably reflects degree of access to Euro-American culture.

In addition to Shoshoni-English bilingualism, there is considerable Shoshoni-Northern Paiute bilingualism. This is particularly the case at Owyhee since a large Northern Paiute population shares the reservation. The two languages are very closely related, so it is not difficult for a speaker of one to learn the

other. There is also a great deal of passive bilingualism, that is, understanding but not speaking the language.

The English of younger Indians is, as might be expected, usually quite good, although in most cases there is at least a slight Shoshoni accent, and a few cases of interference in areas other than phonology. For example, the term grandmother is often used to indicate a grandmother's sisters, reflecting the use of the Shoshoni counterpart.

The Shoshoni of the younger speakers is often imperfect. The most basic vocabulary items are always known, but less basic, and especially those words which are associated with the aboriginal culture, are often missing. Simplification in the phonology and grammar are noticeable, sometimes reflecting the direct influence of English. It has been reported to me that the difference between generations is so great that at times English must be used; however, I have never directly observed this myself.

Most communities have a number of people in the in-between generation, about 20 or 30 years old, who learned Shoshoni first. They arrived in school knowing little or no English. However, it is often the case that while Shoshoni is clearly their first language, English has now become their primary language, the one that they are most comfortable with and will use first (other things being equal). Their English is fluent, but they speak with a slight accent. It is interesting to note that their children will often also speak English with a slight Indian accent, even though they themselves seldom speak Shoshoni, and sometimes do not even understand it. It is more common to find the accent on the reservations than in the colonies because here the peer group and school mates are almost all Indian.

The state of repair of Shoshoni varies from community to community, and from family to family. For the most part, the inroads of English are greatest in the colonies, perhaps because they are closer to the influence of the neighboring town, and because the children form a small minority in the schools. The cut-off age, where Shoshoni can no longer be spoken, is about 20 to 40 in the colonies, but about 20 or less on the reservations. Understanding of the language, however, persists at much younger age levels. The Gosiute Reservation, which is the most isolated, is almost completely Shoshoni speaking still, and the children are still learning it in almost all the families. Elsewhere, we find scattered families in which the children speak the language; the most important factor in delineating families that still have children learning the language seems not to be a matter of traditionalness or identification with Indianness (though this may

well be a factor in the near future), but rather the quirks of family history, e.g. the presence in the household of an older person, or the raising of the children by their grandparents.

Vocabulary

Changes in the vocabulary, brought about by a new way of life, are a good index of the changing state of Shoshoni. The effect of Euro-American culture on the vocabulary can be grouped into one of four ranked categories.

1. Coinage for new items. Some are in common use, such as 'paatekkappeh', watermelon, literally water food; 'ontempaa', whiskey, literally brown water; 'tuukkwasu', soldier, literally black shirts; 'punku tekkappeh', alfalfa, literally horse food. But in most cases words of this sort have fallen into disuse, and sometimes are not even understood by younger speakers. Examples are 'wopinnampeh', Mormon, literally wooden shoe; 'tuuhupa', coffee, literally black soup; 'tuuonkapi', pepper, literally black salt; 'yetsenompeh', airplane, derived from fly plus the instrumental suffix; 'nanapuih' mirror, the reflexive prefix plus the verb see; 'napaka', bullet, the reciprocal prefix (because the bullet has two parts) plus arrow; 'wehpappeh', sugar, literally frost. 'Wopinnampeh' has been replaced by the English loan 'mommani', and 'tuuhupa' by 'koppi'; in the other cases the English word is normally used. In a number of cases, an old word has been extended in meaning to cover a new item, with a new coinage to cover the old meaning: 'kuittsu', buffalo, now cow, and 'piakuittsu', big cow, now used for buffalo; 'aiti', bow, now gun, and 'huuaiti', wooden gun, now used for bow.

2. Borrowing of English words, but placing the words into the Shoshoni phonological system. Some examples are 'atammopih' [ʔarammovi] automobile; 'siippeh' [siippɨ] sheep; 'tipoh' [tivo] table; 'tetesih' [tɨrɨsɪ] potato, from taters.

3. The use of English words for items which have no equivalent in Shoshoni, but, unlike the group above, used with English phonology rather than Shoshoni. Examples would be wrench, school, keys, gas, beer, corn, and many, many others. This practice has been observed for all ages, but it is more frequent for younger speakers.

4. Use of English words with English phonology where there

are Shoshoni equivalents. Examples are salt, dog, wash milk, and a few others. Again, this has been observed with all ages, but it is by far more frequent among the young. In most cases younger speakers who do not use a given Shoshoni word will recognize it in context, but not always.

Corresponding to the encroachment of English is a loss of Shoshoni words, words that refer to an older way of life. This is especially common for nouns, such as antelope, mountain sheep, rabbit net, bow and arrow, words for the several kinds of baskets, and a very large vocabulary for the local flora.

More subtle changes are found in meaning and semantic structure. The Shoshonis had a hunting and gathering way of life, and a non-stratified society. The nature of the society was, and still is to a large extent reflected in the semantic system. One example. The verb 'nemi' means wander about, in the aboriginal fashion, while hunting and gathering. Thus traditional tales will often start out with something like: 'Sukkuh newenee nemi', People were living there, People were wandering about there making a living by hunting and gathering or just simply There were people there. Since the aboriginal context for this word has disappeared, it has come to mean to wander aimlessly. Notice that in this case, the linguistic change is the result of cultural changes brought on by the surrounding Euro-American culture, but the nature or direction of change is not influenced by English, the language associated with this culture. In this regard, the semantic changes are different from all but the first of the four types of vocabulary change listed above.

Younger Shoshonis, often teenagers, have tested my knowledge of the language by asking me how to say certain words. They pick what they consider hard words, namely those words they themselves have trouble with, either because they are becoming lost or are being replaced by English. It is interesting to note that this method of testing me is seldom used by fluent speakers. Instead, they are more apt to speak to me in Shoshoni, testing my comprehension and speaking ability in connected discourse.

Bilingual Setting

Except in some of the most acculturated Shoshoni communities, most homes are bilingual, even though not every one in the home is necessarily bilingual. It is not unusual to find a household in which the parents talk to the children in English, but to the grandparents in Shoshoni. In such a situation, the children will almost always understand Shoshoni, and will normally speak it to

some extent, though they are hesitant to admit it because of the poor quality. The grandparents will normally speak English, but they seldom feel comfortable with it. Thus it is rare that communication is denied between grandchildren and grandparents.

Quite often parents report they purposely use English to their children so that when they go to school they will not have the same difficulty that they had, entering school with no knowledge of English. In these households, one can sometimes observe that English will be used the majority of the time, but when the parent is angry, or there is urgent need to communicate, the language shifts to Shoshoni. The child, however, normally answers in these situations in English.

The place of English on the Gosiute Reservation is instructive, because it is about 20 years behind other Shoshoni communities, due to its isolation. For two summers I lived with a family and was able to observe the interaction of the two languages in its natural setting. The family included 12 children, the four oldest being married and no longer part of the household. The fifth, a married daughter, had an infant and a two year old child; they lived in the household for about one and a half years, the period coinciding with the two summers that I was present. Two of the children were of high school age, and spent the school year away at a boarding school. The two youngest were preschoolers, ages four and five. The five-year-old could speak some English, and the four-year-old knew some English words. During the first summer, the youngest child spoke only Shoshoni. The second summer, the two-year-old grandchild was just beginning to talk, and I heard only one-word sentences; some of the words were English, but most were Shoshoni. All of the other members of the household were fluent English speakers, but with a limited vocabulary and marked Shoshoni accent. However, Shoshoni was the most frequent language, by far.

English appeared to be the primary language of the married daughter, probably because she has spent four years at the boarding school, plus two or three years away from a Shoshoni speaking community. When she first came back, she spoke English most often, but slowly shifted more to Shoshoni. But she still used English when she got mad. But for all the others in the household, Shoshoni was both the first and primary language. The amount of English used is a function of age: the parents used the most English (exclusive of the married daughter), followed next by the oldest children, and on down the line to the youngest child. I noted, for example, that the father sometimes answered Shoshoni questions in English, whereas the children would seldom do this. One might conclude that Shoshoni was staging a comeback, but I

think this would not be correct. With age, the child's proficiency in English increases. Therefore, we would want to know if the six year old child (or ten year old child, or whatever age one wants to pick) of today has a greater command of English, uses English more today, than the six year old child of ten or fifteen years ago. In talking with the parents and grown children in the family, it appears that this is in fact the case. Also more casual observations over the past four years of the same family show this pattern; the two youngest children are now eight and nine, and speak English fluently and with less of an accent than their older siblings.

Choice of language is governed by the interrelated factors of setting, topic, and participant. Thus, traditional story telling is almost only in Shoshoni. Hand games and cards, an important part of any large gathering such as a "fandango" or rodeo, draw people of all ages, but it has a special attraction for older people. Shoshoni is the appropriate language, though English will be used if there is a non-Shoshoni speaker present - either a young Shoshoni who does not speak the language, or an Indian with a different linguistic affiliation. The appropriate language at the mourning ceremony is Shoshoni; however, on one occasion a leading participant was a Southern Paiute who did not speak Shoshoni, and thus his sermon had to be delivered in English. On the other hand, council meetings and other similar meetings that follow the common Euro-American cultural pattern are mostly or entirely in English. If all the participants are fluent speakers of Shoshoni (I have observed this only at Go-s[illegible]e), there will be much switching back and forth: Shoshoni used because it is more comfortable, but switching to English because certain topics are easier to discuss in this language. At Gosiute I have noted that Shoshoni is even used at some meetings when white officials are present. The officials usually feel uncomfortable because they think the council is talking behind their backs, but this is seldom the case; normally such conversations are unimportant banter.

The most variable setting seems to be the home. While some of the language switching can be explained in terms of participant, topic, or emotional state, there were many cases in which language choice seemed to be unpredictable.

A language shift appears to be taking place, and it is clear that generational differences are an important factor: younger Shoshonis are seldom learning the language. But changes in setting and topic are equally important. Mourning ceremonies and hand games are becoming less frequent, but council meetings and other meetings of local committees are becoming more common. The tell-

ing of traditional stories is becoming less frequent, but discussion of land claim cases, economic development and housing development is becoming more frequent.

Attitudes

The Shoshoni do not exhibit a great deal of language loyalty. Older people are concerned that the children are not learning the language, but, until recently, the concern has not been great, nor have they tried to do much about it. Use of the language is not tied up as closely with Indian identity as it is with some groups, e.g., the Navajo. The prevailing attitude toward language is casual. It is a tool for communication, and in many cases Shoshoni or English will serve equally well. Older speakers sometimes comment unfavorably on the corruption of the language by younger speakers who interlard English words and phrases, or who have a meager vocabulary and incomplete Shoshoni grammar. But these same people often interlard their Shoshoni with English words and phrases, also.

The prestige of Shoshoni is low. I have often been told that Shoshoni is backwards, referring to certain difference of word order between Shoshoni and English. It has never been suggested that perhaps Shoshoni is just different from English, or that English is backwards in relation to Shoshoni. The fact that Shoshoni has no literary tradition and no conventional writing system leads to rather curious and incorrect notions about the language by Whites living near the Indians, and some Shoshonis have picked up these notions. One particularly recurring notion is the belief that the language only has a few hundred words.

A few years ago I would have predicted the complete loss of the language, with it becoming obsolete in another generation. But some interesting changes have been taking place in the past few years that make any prediction hazardous. In some quarters a new pride in Indianness is developing, and a pride in the language is a part of it. Interestingly enough, most support is coming from the most acculturated and sophisticated communities, the very places where the language is least used. Several communities are offering or are planning to offer classes in the language for the children. To date, most of the classes have not been well organized or well taught, but there is no reason to suppose that this will remain the case. And since the more isolated communities still use Shoshoni as a vehicle for communication, there is a possibility that this movement can keep the language alive.

The attitude of the more traditional families and communities to

this movement is interesting. At first, there was a certain amount of scorn. If people wanted their children to learn to speak the language, they reasoned that these people should use it at home in speaking to the children, as they, themselves, were doing, instead of trying to teach them in a formal classroom setting. But later, this new pride infected these people also when they came to realize that their greater knowledge of Shoshoni was of value to others.

It is impossible to say that changing attitudes will save the language from extinction, but I strongly suspect that it will at least slow down the process. But if the language does remain, it will be very different from the one used in aboriginal times. The Shoshoni people now live in a very different cultural and linguistic setting. It is doubtful if it will ever again be anybody's first and primary language. All this will have a profound effect on the semantic, phonological and grammatical aspects of the language.

Implications

The role of an obsolescing language in the education system cannot be the same as that of a flourishing language. Bilingual education (as some would interpret it) would clearly be misguided here, since it would be necessary first to teach the child Shoshoni so as to bring his skills up to a level equal to that of English. It doesn't make any sense to teach, for example, mathematics or history in a language which some of the children would understand, but few would be able to speak.

But in a bicultural approach, the aboriginal language should play a big part. Instead of teaching subject matter through the language, the language could be taught as a subject, either teaching the language (that is, how to speak and understand it), or teaching about the language. I can see these benefits accruing to such a bicultural program which included language:

1. The child could study one language in relation to another, contrasting the grammatical patterns of English and Shoshoni, thus learning about language in general, and about Shoshoni and English in particular.

2. It would become clear that he or his parents do not speak a "primitive" language, but rather a full language with a complex grammatical system and a large vocabulary capable of expressing a wide range of subtle meanings.

3. The Shoshoni language is part of the child's cultural heritage. A study of it would help develop a pride in that heritage, and thus help in the development of a better self concept. The cultural aspects would be enhanced by introducing traditional accounts and stories by tribal elders as part of the reading material in Shoshoni.

4. Adult education classes in learning to read and write in the language could be a means for stimulating interest in the educational system on the part of the adult.

Many of the Shoshoni communities are now demanding classes on the language, either in or outside the regularly scheduled classroom. Hopefully they will be taught with outside technical assistance so that they can be taught well and so that the greatest benefit will be realized. One Shoshoni community has asked for our assistance at the University of Utah in the development of teaching materials for an informal class. The class is taught on the reservation by untrained native speakers, after regular school hours. We have not yet had enough experience with this class to know how successful we will be in this endeavor, nor to judge the quality of the material or its adequacy for this situation. But it is clear that more and more communities are going to demand classes on the language, and they will be taught, either well or badly, either with or without outside help.

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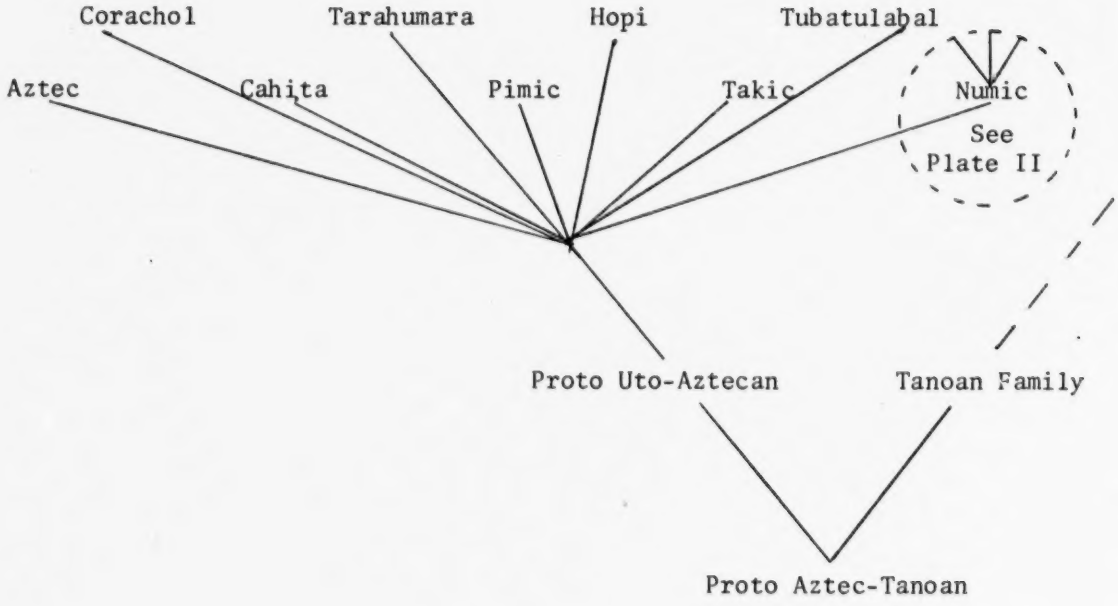

PLATE I: UTO-AZTECAN LANGUAGE FAMILY TREE

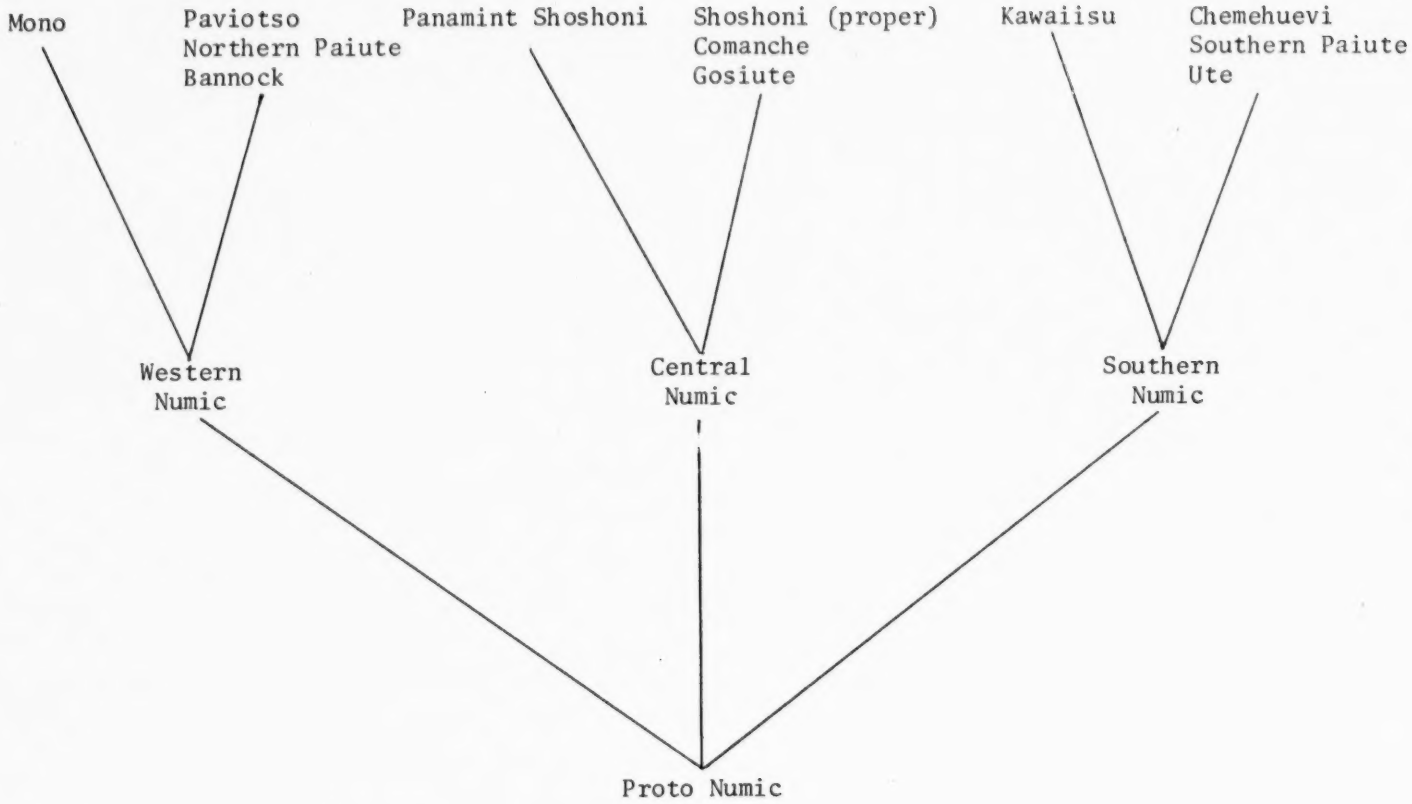

PLATE II: NUMIC LANGUAGE FAMILY TREE

A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE NUMIC LANGUAGES[1]

The following is intended as a rough working bibliography for the Numic (or Plateau Shoshonean) languages of the Great Basin. The bibliography is organized to reflect Sydney Lamb's (1958a) classification, which is essentially an elaborated reaffirmation of A. L. Kroeber's (1907) classification of the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan languages: (a) 'Mono-Paviotoso,' including a number of dialects for which the most common names are Mono (Monachi), Paviotoso, Bannack, and Northern Paiute; (b) 'Shoshone-Comanche,' including Shoshone, Comanche, and Panamint (Koso); (c) 'Ute-Chemehuevi,' including Ute, Chemehuevi, Southern Paiute, and Kawaiisu. For simplicity, these three sub-groups will be referred to respectively as Western Numic, Central Numic, and Southern Numic.

General Numic

Davis, Irvine. 1966. Numic consonantal correspondences. International Journal of American Linguistics (IJAL) 32.2.124-40.

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[1]Thanks are due to Wick R. Miller for introducing me to Numic language materials in the first place, and for making a great deal of the unpublished material available to me. Unfortunately, much of the best information on Numic languages remains unavailable or at least unpublished: in particular, Edward Sapir's classic Southern Paiute grammar (out of print and not easy to find), W. R. Miller's Shoshone materials (mostly unpublished), Sydney Lamb's Mono grammar and dictionary (unpublished), and Sven Liljeblad's enormous amount of information on Northern Paiute (mostly unpublished).

Goss, James. 1970. Voiceless vowels (?) in Numic languages. In E. H. Swanson, ed., Languages and cultures of Western North America. Pocatello: Idaho State University Press.

Iannucci, David. Forthcoming. Numic historical phonology. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

Kinkade, M. Dale. 1971. Roster of linguists studying North American Indian languages. IJAL 37.2.114-21.

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Kroeber, A. L. 1907. Shoshonean dialects of California. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lamb, Sydney. 1958a. Linguistic prehistory in the Great Basin. IJAL 24.2.95-100.

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Miller, Wick R. 1964. The Shoshonean languages of Uto-Aztecan. In Wm. Bright, ed., Studies in Californian linguistics. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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Voegelin, C. F., Voegelin, F. M., and Hale, K. L. 1962. Typological and comparative grammar of Uto-Aztecan: I, Phonology. Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 17 of IJAL.

See also Nichols, Forthcoming, under Western Numic.

Western Numic

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Liljeblad, Sven. 1950. Bannack I: Phonemes. IJAL 16.3.126-32.

_____. 1964. Fort Independence Mono lexical list. Unpublished MS, Idaho State University, Pocatello.

_____, 1966. Northern Paiute manual. Unpublished MS, Idaho State University, Pocatello.

Nichols, Michael. 1970. Aspects of the reconstruction of Proto Western Numic. Unpublished MS, University of California, Berkeley.

_____. 1971. Linguistic reconstruction of Proto Western Numic and its ethnographic implications. In Great Basin Anthropology Conference, 1970: selected papers. Eugene: University of Oregon Press.

_____. Forthcoming. Northern Paiute historical grammar. Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Central Numic

Canonge, Elliott. 1957. Voiceless vowels in Comanche. IJAL 23.2. 63-68.

_____. 1958. Comanche texts. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Lamb, Sydney. 1954. Panamint notes (mostly field data). Unpublished MS, University of California, Berkeley.

Miller, Wick R. 1968a. Voiceless vowels in Shoshone. Paper given at annual American Anthropological Association meeting, Seattle.

_____. 1968b. Consonantal processes in Shoshone. Paper given at annual Linguistic Society of America meeting, New York City.

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Osborn, H. and Smalley, Wm. A. 1949. Formulae for Comanche stem and word formation. IJAL 15.2.93-99.

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Goss, James. 1961. A short dictionary of the Southern Ute language. Ignacio, Colorado: Southern Ute Tribe.

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McCawley, James. 1967. Sapir's phonologic representation. IJAL 33.2.106-11.

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INFORMATION EXCHANGE

CONFERENCE ON CHILD LANGUAGE

Chicago, 1971

The conference on Child Language held in Chicago, November 22-24, 1971 was sponsored jointly by the International Association of Applied Linguistics, the Center for Applied Linguistics, and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Focusing on "the learning of two or more languages or dialects by young children, especially between the ages of three and eight, with particular attention to the social setting," the three-fold purpose of the conference, as indicated in the program, was to: 1) further the work of the International Association of Applied Linguistics by promoting collaboration of researchers, 2) identify researchers and encourage research in the learning of two or more languages in young children, and 3) seek ways to improve practices in the field of bilingual education by applying the results of such research to schooling.

Several papers were presented in each of the following sections of the conference:

I: Home and Preschool Language Learning
II: Curricular Patterns in Early Bilingual Schooling
III: Linguistic Factors in Bilingualism and Bidialectalism
IV: Socio-Linguistic Factors in Bilingual Education
V: Various Aspects of Child Language

Papers most pertinent to the purposes of this newsletter are discussed in more detail elsewhere in this issue; however, many of our readers will be interested also in the following "Summaries of Papers to be Presented" which we quote from a conference preprint by permission of Dr. Theodore Andersson, co-chairman of the event:

Chester C. Christian, Jr.: "Differential Response to Language Stimuli Before Age 3: A Case Study"

This study of a child whose home language is Spanish but who has alternately lived in English and Spanish-speaking environments (the United States, Peru, and Colombia) attempts to analyze differential response to language stimuli occurring in these environments, including written forms and other symbolic representation of spoken language. Efforts at systematization of both written and spoken forms are given particular attention in an attempt to determine whether or not learning written forms in Spanish may proceed with significantly greater rapidity because writing and speaking systems are more closely related than in English.

Joshua A. Fishman: "Bilingual and Bidialectal Education: An Attempt at a Joint Model for Policy Description"

Given the view that all varieties of language or dialect in a community's repertoire can be subjected to sociolinguistic analysis along identical dimensions, this paper attempts to examine the further question as to whether a single integrative model is also possible with respect to educational policy description when such policy deals with separate languages on the one hand and with separate dialects on the other.

A model for bilingual policy description, derived from my paper on "National Languages and Languages of Wider Communication in the Developing Nations," will first be described and discussed; then a comparison will be made with a parallel model for bidialectal policy description.

Under Type A are considered those settings in which educational authorities feel compelled to select for educational use a language (or dialect) which is not a mother tongue.

Type B pertains to policies which hold that, although an internally integrative great tradition does exist, for one reason or another additional traditions too must be recognized.

Under Type C we consider the situation where several competing great traditions exist, each with its numerous and powerful adherents.

And we conclude that, generally speaking, the same theoretical model of educational policy decisions may be said to be useful for the description of bilingual as well as for bidialectal education.

Sarah Gudschinsky: "Literacy in the Mother Tongue and Second Language Learning"

It is the thesis of this paper that children who are monolingual speakers of a minority language will, in general, learn a second language as a medium of instruction more readily and more effectively if they are taught to read and write their own language. Suggested factors are social, psychological, and pedagogical, as well as linguistic.

William Francis Mackey: "Free Language Alternation in Early Childhood Education"

In the bilingual schooling of children - whether they be from unilingual or bilingual homes - there is the perennial problem of deciding which language to use for what. At a level where the curriculum can be divided into school-subjects, each language can be allotted to a number of subjects or periods in the timetable. In early childhood schooling this may pose special problems of structuring. If the teaching itself is unstructured or activity-based and the children come from homes using different languages, a formula of free alternation if properly applied may be effective. A two-month study of the application of the formula has shown that under certain conditions it can create classes ready to take formal instruction in either language.

John Macnamara: "The Cognitive Strategies of Language Learning"

I have been working for some time on the non-linguistic strategies which children bring to bear on the task of learning their mother tongue. My work has taken the form of analyzing the task and following up with some empirical probes. I feel that what I have been doing has some relevance to the learning of second languages. This is what I would like to talk about. My major point is that a person's language learning abilities are brought into play only when he is either trying to make out what someone is saying to him in the new language or trying to tell someone something in that language. This in turn suggests a revision of a quite radical nature of approaches to language teaching.

Ralph Robinett: "Developing Curriculum for Bilingual Education"

With the expansion of bilingual education, the need for curricular resource materials in the home language has increased proportionately. Neither curriculum components of bilingual projects nor commercial interests have been able to keep pace in curriculum development. To help meet the growing demand, the Bilingual Education Program Branch of the U.S. Office of Education has set in motion acquisition and production projects of national scope. One such project is the Spanish Curricula Development Center, which is charged with producing Spanish curricula materials for the primary level. As the materials are written, they are piloted in local bilingual programs, then revised and prepared for distribution to other bilingual projects serving as field trial centers in various parts of the country. With the assistance of a curriculum adaptation network supported by federal and private foundation monies, these preliminary materials produced as a general edition will be converted to multiple editions which reflect the inputs of local and regional interests.

Bernard Spolsky and Wayne Holm: "Bilingualism in the Six-Year-Old Navajo Child"

Although they live in what is still a language island, many Navajo children have some exposure to English before they start school. Ease of access to school and to off-reservation towns increases the probability of this exposure, which shows up both in knowledge of English and in the presence of English loan-words. An account is given of a survey of the relative Navajo and English proficiency of six-year-old Navajo children and its relationship to accessibility and of a computer-assisted study of a sample of speech of six-year-old Navajos.

Paul R. Streiff: "American Education and Bilingual Education Research"

Bilingual education is not, for purposes of research, a single well defined and well understood discipline amenable to investigation although it is treated as such in many programs. It derives its definition from a composite of theoretical bases of several component disciplines, but a conceptual model for overall research of bilingual education problems in American schools does

not now exist. Such a model must elaborate those theoretical cases within an overall framework of curricular theory. This paper will present one such model to provide those involved with bilingual education research efforts with a framework within which they can more effectively undertake their tasks.

Robert D. Wilson: "Assumptions for Bilingual Instruction in the Primary Grades of Navajo Schools"

This paper will explain the major assumptions about curriculum objectives, the students' learning capabilities, and the teachers' and schools' receptiveness to change that have been made for a bilingual curriculum development project sponsored by the Navajo Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the past four years.

Another category of assumptions is the case of the curriculum design (but not the only necessary one): the pedagogical assumptions for triggering and developing strategies of learning.

(All of the papers which were presented at the conference will be included in a final report to be published by The International Center for Research on Bilingualism and the Laval University Press. Dr. Andersson suggests that persons wishing to receive a copy should place an advance order by writing to Dr. Jean-Guy Savard, Associate Director, International Center for Research on Bilingualism, Cité Universitaire, Université Laval, Québec, Canada. Price and date of publication have not been announced.)

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE OR LANGUAGE SHIFT:

THE PROSPECT FOR SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES

Many of those who read Professor Miller's lead article on Shoshoni may well have asked themselves about the present and future status of Spanish, which is spoken by roughly ten million people in the United States. In a very interesting paper delivered at the Conference on Child Language in Chicago (see the report on this Conference elsewhere in this issue), Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder of the United States Office of Education discusses in some detail the various socio-cultural factors that must be taken into account in considering the future use of Spanish in our country. Will the language be maintained, he asks, or will there be a shift to English? This paper, Dr. Gaarder says, is intended to be "the best available substitute for a conference of experts on the subject."

Space does not permit a detailed review of Dr. Gaarder's paper here. But perhaps the following summary will bring out some of its main emphases. In one part of the paper, Dr. Gaarder lists nine factors which in his opinion tend to support the maintenance of Spanish:

> 1. They were here first. This goes far beyond such facts as colonization in the Southwest before the landing of the Pilgrims. The brown-white point referred to above is buttressed by a growing inclination among Mexican Americans to see their own origins in common with those of the American Indian 20,000 or more years ago in that same Southwest. Dr. George I. Sanchez, illustrious defender of the Mexican American, has said, "After all, we are not immigrants. As Indians, we have been here since time immemorial and as Spanish speakers, since the sixteenth century." (TNESP 103) Dr. Sergio D. Elizondo, professor at California State College, San Bernardino, writing on the curriculum of Chicano

studies programs, says, "An introductory course in Mexican American history must have its beginnings in Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica." (Elizondo)

2. The proximity and easy accessibility of Mexico and Puerto Rico.

3. The constant in-migrant and immigrant streams from Puerto Rico, Mexico, and other Spanish-speaking countries.

4. The large numbers involved: roughly six million Mexican Americans, two million Puerto Ricans, one million Cubans, and one million other Latin Americans and Spaniards.

5. The relative isolation - hence linguistic solidarity - of the rural, or segregated, uneducated poor.

6. The similarities of religion and folkways among all the Spanish-speakers.

7. The fact of their being, in large measure, a "visible minority."

8. The inter-generational stability of the extended family (Hayden, LLUS 205).

9. The present-day climate in the United States of tolerance - even encouragement - of cultural diversity. For example, Congressman Roman Pucinski, at the hearings on the proposed Ethnic Heritage Studies Act, said, "Experience has taught us that the pressure toward homogeneity has been superficial and counter-productive; that the spirit of ethnicity, now laying dormant of our national soul, begs for reawakening in a time of fundamental national need."

Later in the paper, Dr. Gaarder compares the situation of the Spanish-speaking people with that of two other ethnic groups in the United States, the Germans and the Norwegians. He also refers to other situations in which language maintenance or language shift are taking place, for example, the role of Guaraní in Paraguay.

On pages 27, 28, and 29 of the paper, Dr. Gaarder uses the following chart to sum up the factors that lead to maintenance or shift:

Extra-linguistic, socio-cultural factors	Favors the shift to English	Resists the shift to English
1. Size and homogeneity of bilingual group		Powerful resistance
2. Historic priority of bilingual group		Powerful resistance
3. Access and resource to renewal from a hinterland		(Potentially powerful factor of resistance, but is in fact unexploited.)
4. Reinforcement by in-migration and immigration		Powerful resistance
5. Relative social isolation, including racist attitudes toward a visible minority	The struggle for integration in schools, in housing, etc., favors shift, as does the assimilative bridge-to-English orientation of bilingual schooling.	Differentiation as a culturally-distinct "brown" people. Pluralistic orientation to bilingual education, and resistance to integration also resist shift to English.
6. Inter-generational stability of the extended family		Close-knit, extended family, especially grandparents and other elders living with grandchildren.
7. Order and age of learning		Spanish mother tongue and language of child childhood is powerful psychological factor of resistance.
8. Relative proficiency in both tongues	Education solely through English favors shift; bilingual education is presently too weak to offset this.	

Extra-linguistic, socio-cultural	Favors the shift to English	Resists the shift to English
9. Specialized use by topics, domains, and interlocutors	Use of both languages for the same purposes favors shift. Absence of socio-cultural divisions to reinforce the difference in mother tongues facilitates shift. (LC-98)	Use of each language exclusively for certain topics and domains of life resists shift.
10. Manner of learning each language	Learning both from same persons in same situations facilitates switching and shift.	Learning from different persons in different situations resists shift.
11. Status of the bilingual groups	Except to the extent that the bilinguals' status favors Nos. 5 and 9 above, that status at present facilitates shift.	(Improved status, if made congruent with Nos. 3, 8, 9, 17-22, would resist shift.)
12. Disappearance of the Spanish monolingual group	Powerful force toward complete shift.	(Establishment of diglossia, No. 9, could forestall shift.)
13. Attitudes toward cultural pluralism	Present absence of appropriate action by Spanish speakers facilitates shift. See Nos. 5,7, and 9.	Over-all national attitude of relative tolerance favors cultural pluralism.
14. Attitudes toward both cultures	Prevailing attitudes of both groups favor shift.	
15. Attitudes toward each language; emotional attachment	Other attitudes favor shift. See Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20.	Emotional attachment to Spanish resists shift. (Language loyalty)

Extra-linguistic, socio-cultural	Favors the shift to English	Resists the shift to English
16. Attitudes toward bilingualism		Resist shift.
17. Attitudes toward correctness	Powerfully facilitate shift.	(Emphasis on standardization, purism, would resist shift.)
18. Attitudes toward "mixing" the languages	Powerfully facilitate shift.	
19. Modes of use of each language	Virtual absence of reading and writing of Spanish by adults powerfully facilitates shift.	
20. Relative usefulness of each language	Limitation of Spanish to oral, intimate, informal uses limits prestige, facilitates "mixing" and shift.	
21. Function of each language in social advance	Powerfully facilitates shift.	
22. Literary-cultural value	Absence of emphasis reduces prestige facilitates "mixing" and shift.	

Of the many points listed in the chart, perhaps the most misunderstood will be number 17, which refers to "correctness." Essentially, this point has to do with the broader question of the prestige that is presently ascribed to Spanish. In discussing the matter of status, Dr. Gaarder concludes that "apart from college and university departments of foreign language - Spanish in the United States has virtually no prestige, especially among its own native-born speakers." While the spoken language is treasured by its speakers as a symbol of identification with "la raza," little attention is paid to the need for a standard literary form that can be cherished and cultivated as a medium for expressing the

spirit and will of *la raza*. And little concern is being expressed for the importance and value of holding fast to *el español común*, the standard written and spoken language of the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. A fully developed written tradition would be a strong factor in language maintenance.

In his concluding remarks, Dr. Gaarder is understandably reluctant to make any definite predictions about the future of Spanish in the United States. But it is perhaps significant that he reiterates a point made earlier in the paper: Although there are a number of factors strongly favoring the maintenance of Spanish, Gaarder says, these factors have not as yet been fully understood and appreciated, and their potential is as yet unrealized. The implication is that those who are interested in the development and maintenance of Spanish in this country would do well to consider with care the role they would like the language to play in education, in community and national affairs, and even beyond - in the wider world of *el español común*.

[Summary of a paper presented by A. Bruce Gaarder, U. S. Office of Education, at the Child Language Conference, Chicago, 1971]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEMANTIC CATEGORIES

IN SPANISH-ENGLISH AND NAVAJO-ENGLISH BILINGUAL CHILDREN

Despite the increased attention to the process of acquiring a second language, little has been done in analyzing the role of the meaning systems or semantic component in this process. Current controversy in linguistic theory over whether semantics is interpretive or generative provides motivation for investigating this component of language. By setting this investigation in a cross-linguistic situation, some indication of what is universal and what is specific to language is also possible. The interesting question arising from a semantic orientation is whether bilingual children develop the same meaning systems as do monolingual children or whether their meaning system is somehow different for the same basic concepts. A second closely related question is whether bilingual children possess one or two meaning systems for their two languages. These two questions can be partially answered by comparing the relative difficulty of certain meanings for monolingual and bilingual children; the same technique can be used to compare the bilingual's two languages.

These questions and the problem of linguistic universals can be more dramatically examined by using two groups of bilingual children representing semantically similar and semantically dissimilar languages. In the study being reported here, two groups of young bilingual children (first and fourth grade) were used: Spanish-English bilinguals and Navajo-English bilinguals. Spanish and English are similar semantically in the domain investigated, while Navajo and English are not. A basis of comparison was provided by measuring a group of English monolingual children, who were also compared with an earlier study from UCLA by Kennedy (1970). As a replication of the UCLA study the New Mexico monolingual children strongly paralleled the Los Angeles group, lending support to the technique of comparing the relative difficulty

of semantic categories.

In the study, ten categories of numeric comparison (five positive and five negative) were used which express the three basic concepts of superiority of number equality of number, and inferiority of number, plus their denials. Each of these categories included three syntactically different sentences parallel in each category except that half the categories are negative. The sentences were translated into Spanish and Navajo when the categories were semantically equivalent, and each bilingual child was tested for comprehension of the thirty sentences in English and the thirty sentences in his other language for accuracy and latency (response time). This methodology is an adaptation of the one developed by Kennedy (1970).

The ten semantic categories in English and the linguistic expression of each are as follows:

1. Superiority - more than
2. Denial of Superiority - not more than
3. Inferiority - less than
4. Denial of Inferiority - not less than
5. Positive Equality - as many as
6. Denial of Positive Equality - not as many as
7. Negative Equality - as few as
8. Denial of Negative Equality - not as few as
9. Neutral Equality - equal to
10. Denial of Neutral Equality - not equal to

The translations of the sentences into Spanish and Navajo were done by native speakers and were verified by back translations. The Spanish paralleled the English in meaning and syntax and reflected the language of northern New Mexico. For example, the English denial of positive equality not as many as and the Spanish equivalent no tantos como both unambiguously mean numeric inferiority of the first noun mentioned in relation to the second. For the Navajo version some of the semantic categories did not exist in a form parallel to English. For example, the English construction There are as many X as Y would exist in Navajo like an English construction The X and the Y are equal and they are many. A similar situation exists for constructions of as few as. The absence in Navajo of comparatives for equality which are built from adjectives of superiority and inferiority suggest that these categories (positive and negative equality) do not "directly" exist in Navajo. The clue comes when these expressions are modified by negation and they do not produce a parallel meaning. In English not as many as is not simple denial and unambiguously means less than. Negating the Navajo counterpart results in something

like The X and Y are not equal and they are many.

From the testing came accuracy and latency scores for each semantic category. Each language group established a pattern of the relative difficulty of the ten semantic categories in English and these patterns were contrasted without any quantitative comparisons. The bilingual's performance in his first language then provided an approach for explaining any differences. The first significant finding is that first grade children do not sufficiently differentiate the categories to be able to establish a true hierarchy; scores were generally low, indicating that the younger children of all groups, regardless of language, were not comprehending the categories much beyond pure chance. However, the fourth graders sharply differentiated the categories on both accuracy and latency. This developmental finding supports the notion that much of language acquisition is still going on after school age.

In the cross-language emphasis, the primary finding was that both groups of bilinguals established distinct difficulty patterns, both different from the monolingual group. If one supports the notion of identical semantic structures for English and Spanish, this difference in difficulty must be explained on the basis of familiarity and preference rather than inherent complexity. For the Navajo group, the difference in the difficulty pattern seems to be due to the absence of certain semantic categories in Navajo. These categories proved to be strikingly more difficult for the Navajo children, as was predicted. The interesting point is how negating these categories removed the relative difficulty. Generally negating a difficult category would be expected to increase its difficulty; however, if the sentence There are as many X as Y is being erroneously comprehended as superiority of X over Y because many is connected to X alone, then denial of the many removes the source of error. The sentence is interpreted as There are not many X in relation to the number of Y.

This finding seems to indicate that the bilingual child does not have the same meaning system as does the monolingual child, as indicated by differences in relative difficulty. It can be theorized that the categories are made up of basic units (semantic features) differing only in how these units combine from language to language as a way of accounting for the differences in difficulty.

The question of whether the bilingual child is operating with one or two meaning systems for his two languages can be answered by comparing the difficulty heirarchies for his two languages. For both groups the patterns correlate highly and support the presence

of a single meaning system at this level of development. This also suggests a certain universality of semantic components.

In general it seems apparent that semantic categories are definitely significant factors in comprehension for all groups. These categories are sufficiently powerful in determining comprehension that absence of these in one language greatly increases their difficulty in another. The semantic system of one language forces interpretation of another language accordingly. However, presence of identical semantic categories in two languages still does not guarantee the same hierarchy of difficulty as for the monolingual of the target language. Other factors are needed to explain these differences, such as preference and familiarity.

Reference

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(This paper is a condensed version of the paper by the same title which was prepared for the Conference on Child Language, Chicago, November 22-24, 1971. It is based on the author's unpublished dissertation, "Semantics as a Determiner of Lingustic Comprehension Across Language and Cultural Boundaries," the University of New Mexico, 1971. Support for this dissertation came from the Ford Foundation in the form of an Ethnic Studies Dissertation Fellowship.)

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CHANGES IN NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATION

by
S. Lyman Tyler

The composition of the Indian ethnic minority within the United States today can be understood better if we compare the 1970 census data with information available from previous decades.

If we assume that there were 800,000 to a million Native Americans in what is now the United States prior to the European conquest, and that this declined to about 250,000 during the period from 1850 to 1900, we can understand why Indians were then referred to as the "vanishing Americans."

By 1950 the census reported 345,000 Indians, and it was estimated that there were an additional 75,000 that would identify themselves as Indians that were somehow missed in the census count.

A 20% increase had been reported from the 1940 to the 1950 census, another increase of over 40% for the 1960 census, and still another 50% increase for the decade from 1960 to 1970. New methods of identification and of gathering census data, and recently a new pride in Indianness are given as partial explanation for these

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[1]For discussions of Indian population estimates see J. Nixon Hadley, "The Demography of the American Indians," in AMERICAN INDIANS AND AMERICAN LIFE (THE ANNALS. American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1957), pp. 23-30; and H. F. Dobyns and H. P. Thompson, et. al., "Estimating Aboriginal American Population" (Current Anthropology, 1966), pp. 395-449; with accompanying notes.

tremendous leaps forward. Whatever the reason, the preliminary 1970 count for Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos stood at 827,091 compared to 551,669 for the 1960 count.[2]

Almost half of the Native Americans now live in five states: Oklahoma, 97,731; Arizona, 95,812; California, 91,018; New Mexico, 72,788; and Alaska, 51,528; for a combined total of 408,877.

Four of these five states could be expected to be at the top of the list, but New Mexico has been replaced in third position by a new arrival, California. The increase in California's Indian population is a result of the urban Indian movement of the 1950's and 1960's.

By adding 13 more states with an Indian population of over 10,000, we find that approximately 85% of the total, or 700,178, live in 18 of the 50 states. Every state in the Union, however, has some Indians. Vermont with 229 has the fewest, but that number represented a dramatic increase over the 57 included in the 1960 census.

Of the ethnic groups that can be identified from census data those showing the most rapid rate of increase are: American Indians, 51%; Chinese, 83%; Filipino, 95%; and all others (mainly Koreans, Hawaiians, Malayans, and other Polynesians), 130%. While the Indians do not show the most rapid rate of increase, their 51% is more than four times the 12% rate of the White race in the United States.

Another significant difference is a median age of about 17 years for Indians compared to about 29 years for the total population of the United States. This would mean, for instance, that relative to total population there are approximately 10% more Indians in the 5 to 19 (school age) bracket than in the general population of the United States. Also that there are comparatively fewer Indians in the productive years, from 25 to 65, but also comparatively fewer senior Indian citizens over age 65.[3]

Another new factor involving the relationship of Indians to the general population, is that only about 26% of the approximately 184,000 school age Indian children that lived on or near reserva-

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[2]Preliminary 1970 census counts of American Indians and Alaska Natives, compared to 1960 census counts.

[3]ILLNESS AMONG INDIANS, 1965-1969. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, July, 1971.

tions in the 1969-70 school year attended schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Of the remainder, 68% attended public schools operated by state and local governments, and 6% attended other schools. Children of Indians living in urban areas, possibly another 125,000 normally not included in the number indicated above, would also attend public schools located in the urban communities where they reside.

One significant change in the nature of the population of the Native American is the trend toward urbanization that has occurred in the last two decades. The Bureau of Indian Affairs reported in 1968 that about 200,000 Indians had moved to urban areas in the previous decade.[4]

If something over 475,000 Native Americans now live on or near reservations or Alaskan villages, there actually remains more than 350,000 urban and other Indians not connected with Federal reservations.

The states that show the largest percentage increases in numbers of Indians tend to be those that have attracted them to the cities: California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, etc. The number of Indians in New York City, to give one example, increased from the 4,366 counted in the 1960 census, to more than 10,000 for the 1970 census.

While the number of urban Indians has increased dramatically, the 1960's have also seen an increase of over 100,000 in the number on or near reservations or Alaskan villages. This in the face of the Bureau's Relocation and Termination programs of the 1950's and 1960's.

Most of the Indians live in the west. In some states they are an element to be reckoned with in political contests at the county and state levels. Indian tribes also control significant resources needed in the development of some western states.

The following list shows the preliminary 1970 census counts of American Indians and Alaska Natives by state, and includes the

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[4]ANSWERS TO YOUR QUESTIONS ABOUT AMERICAN INDIANS. (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, May, 1968), p. 23, estimated that approximately 200,000 Indians had moved to urban areas in the past decade.

1960 count for comparative purposes. While Native Americans comprise only 0.4% of the total population of the United States, their impact has tended to be disproportionate because they are the first Americans.

PRELIMINARY 1970 CENSUS COUNTS OF AMERICAN INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES

STATE	1970 FIRST COUNT	1960
UNITED STATES	827,091[a]	551,669[b]
Alabama	2,514	1,276
Alaska	51,528[b]	42,522
Arizona	95,812	83,387
Arkansas	2,041	580
California	91,018	39,014
Colorado	8,836	4,288
Connecticut	2,222	923
Delaware	656	597
District of Columbia	956	587
Florida	6,719	2,504
Georgia	2,455	749
Hawaii	1,126	472
Idaho	6,687	5,231
Illinois	11,413	4,704
Indiana	3,887	948

[a]Includes total of 35,252 Aleuts and Eskimos, partly estimated.

[b]Includes total of 28,078 Aleuts (5,755) and Eskimos (22,323).

STATE	1970	1960
Iowa	2,992	1,708
Kansas	8,672	5,069
Kentucky	1,599	391
Louisiana	5,366	3,587
Maine	2,195	1,879
Maryland	4,258	1,538
Massachusetts	4,475	2,118
Michigan	16,854	9,701
Minnesota	23,128	15,496
Mississippi	4,113	3,119
Missouri	5,405	1,723
Montana	27,130	21,181
Nebraska	6,624	5,545
Nevada	7,933	6,681
New Hampshire	361	135
New Jersey	4,706	1,699
New Mexico	72,788	56,255
New York	28,330	16,491
North Carolina	43,487	38,129
North Dakota	14,369	11,736
Ohio	6,654	1,910
Oklahoma	97,731	64,689
Oregon	13,510	8,026
Pennsylvania	5,533	2,122
Rhode Island	1,390	932
South Carolina	2,241	1,098
South Dakota	32,365	25,794
Tennessee	2,376	638
Texas	18,132	5,750
Utah	11,273	6,961
Vermont	229	57
Virginia	4,904	2,155
Washington	33,386	21,076
West Virginia	808	181
Wisconsin	18,924	14,297
Wyoming	4,980	4,020

SOURCE: Unpublished data from the 1970 Census supplied by Bureau of the Census.

LIVING HISTORY: AN UNTAPPED CLASSROOM RESOURCE

Manson Jones and his wife celebrated their sixty-fifth wedding anniversary this year, but that isn't what makes Mr. Jones special. He's the kind of man you'd want for a grandfather if you didn't already have one. Jones is eighty-nine and white-haired, but spry, and he only has two complaints: his hearing is failing, and he has too much time on his hands. For several hours last summer he talked of the old days around Gallup, New Mexico; and for us, another time came alive. Not just textbook history, but living history - real people and events remembered by a man who was there, and enjoyed the living.

Maybe the best part of that interview was that Manson Jones and his wife enjoyed the telling, too. For an afternoon we shared almost a century of life on the Texas plains, the early Santa Fe railroad, a New Mexico homestead, the lives of early day traders, and the Navajo and Zuni Indians who had been their friends and neighbors. We kept wishing that more people had been with us there to hear it all.

Mr. Jones wasn't the only person we talked to, and our meeting wasn't an accident. As part of an oral history project we interviewed and taped almost a hundred such people and the tapes became a valuable part of a growing collection of living history. (For a report of this project, under the direction of the Center for Studies of the American West at the University of Utah, see "Using Oral History as the Basis for Classroom Materials" in the Spring, 1971, issue of this newsletter.) But we couldn't help thinking that the remembrances of these people should become more than a scholar's resource material in a closed collection of a library. We kept thinking that if we were still teaching our high school classrooms, these people would be our special guests.

Relevance is a catch word that has been much abused lately, often

as an excuse for lack of imagination and inventiveness on the part of educators. A teacher will say, "I need material that is relevant." The unspoken part of that statement is, "Since I don't have it, I'll keep on using the same old stuff." In the area of minorities studies this is especially true. But the fact is, the sum of human knowledge has not yet been published in a paperback edition.

It is about time that concerned educators looked to the cultural group members themselves for material. Even if a number of Indians, to take one example, did publish work in the near future it could be expected to satisfy the needs and interests of only a few. It would be of only limited interest to Winnebagos, for example, if a good biography of a Navajo appeared in print tomorrow. In the area of bi-cultural studies, which is complex and sometimes touchy, personalized material is the only immediate solution.

Our experience last summer was reinforced by a magazine article. A woman told of adopting a "grandfather" for her children since their real grandparents were no longer living. She simply went to an old folks' home and found a lonely man. At first it was just an experiment, but the results proved to be a warm personal experience for everyone involved.

It didn't take long to realize what we had. Somewhere out there is an almost unlimited supply of "grandfathers." They represent a combined resource of literally thousands of years of human experience that has not found its way into textbooks or television. And the sad part is that this resource is being wasted. Almost any social worker can tell you that a real problem for older people is finding things to keep them occupied, to give them a feeling of usefulness. Clearly here is an untapped resource and a need. In short, if your class is studying Navajo culture, why not call on a medicine man?

Let's consider a hypothetical unit on literature in a high school English class. There are, of course, problems peculiar to this subject and age group; but the general considerations of collecting and organizing materials are pretty much universal.

The average teacher may feel competent to tackle Shakespeare or the Romantic poets, but finds that the students are unmotivated. What the students want is a unit on Navajo literature, at least as a bridge. The teacher will discover immediately that there is no available text. A good Navajo bibliography points to Washington Matthews' NAVAJO LEGENDS, but the teacher discovers it was published in 1897 and has never been reprinted. There is Margaret Link's POLLEN PATH, but the treatment in subjective and the

book expensive. GRANDFATHER STORIES OF THE NAVAHOS will be useful in the lower grades, but half of its seventy-seven pages are pictures, and only a few of the selections are from the literary tradition. The materials produced by the Curriculum Center at Rough Rock have certain limitations. The Center's COYOTE STORIES are told in brief form, and the illustrations, while entertaining, are definitely Anglo cartoon in style. The five dollar price tag is also a stopper.

If there is no text and the teacher has little background in the oral tradition, digging up material will be time consuming and frustrating and perhaps unsatisfactory in the end. The obvious solution would appear to be to put off the project entirely until "somebody" prepares "something." But maybe there is a way out.

At this point the literature class may need a "grandfather," someone who can provide access to material that is not available in any other way. He can add variety to the students' academic diet while easing the pressure on the teacher. If the stories are in Navajo, so much the better. The stories add authenticity, relevance and vitality to the class. You should never overlook the usefulness of the native language.

If the teacher gives thought and preparation to the project, a variety of exercises before and after the guest speaker will enrich the experience itself while providing the student with practice in a number of verbal skills.

Some consideration must be given to the peculiar characteristics of the oral tradition. Like any live performance, the speaker's story is temporal. The story telling exists only in time. The listener, unlike the reader, cannot expect unlimited instant replay. The thing is said only once in a certain way and can never be repeated in exactly the same form. While a book may use headings, bold-face, italics, and punctuation, the speaker uses the devices of repetition and voice control. He must make his points in a different way with pitch, stress, and even gesture.

The students' ability to take notes becomes of prime importance with the oral presentation. The teacher has an opportunity here to bring up the use of direct and indirect quotations in a realistic situation. In the writing assignments that follow, the student will need to distinguish between the speaker's exact words and a paraphrase. He will also need to evaluate the material presented. In this way the student will strengthen his ability to distinguish between main points and supporting material. These activities lead the teacher and students logically to exercises in organization, outline and summary.

In planning the kind of literature unit we are proposing here, the teacher can make use not only of the stories themselves, but of the oral tradition as a literary genre in its own right. Such emphasis can lead to a discussion of myth, legend, and folktale as literary types. Obviously folklore as a genre of literature is a study in itself. The teacher can use this opportunity to discuss the techniques of story telling, the devices of humor, and a variety of other subjects.

Having a guest speaker also brings up the possibility of working with biography and autobiography. The problems of a biographer can easily be illustrated by having a guest lecturer tell the story of his life - a story that will be instructive in a variety of ways. Each student can be assigned to write a biography from what he has heard. A comparison of papers will quickly reveal the subjective nature of this type of writing; and in the process will point up the need for some of the skills already discussed.

Descriptive writing can be a corrollary of the biographies written by the students. Having each student begin his story with a detailed description of the speaker - how he looked, what he wore, how he spoke, his mannerisms - will quickly illustrate the techniques of descriptive writing. The teacher can also ask for descriptive writing in reconstructing the incidents of the story itself.

With the example of the speaker still in mind, the teacher may want to ask the students to do their own autobiographies or the biographies of someone they know well. It is an interesting type of writing for the student, and a subject area he feels confident with.

If the speaker tells of historical incidents, some of the problems of history may be explored. For a history unit, for example, a speaker may be found who can explain the Navajo view of the stock reduction program to the class. There is a good deal of published material available on this subject, mainly from the point of view of the government and the administrators of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Certainly the Navajo and Anglo points of view on this topic - as well as many others - will be considerably different. A problem of this sort raises the possibility of a range of exercises and activities - from a comparison-contrast essay to a research paper.

In dealing with oral history the immediate problem of point of view is raised, a problem that may have broad significance. If two or more views flatly contradict each other, there is the prob-

lem for the student of trying to decide the merits of each view. There is, of course, the problem of the reliability of the witness. How close was he to the actual scene? What was he doing at the time? In what ways was he personally involved? For too long many of us have somehow believed that anything in print was automatically true. Here the teacher has an ideal opportunity to discuss objectivity and subjectivity. For those who are still daring a discussion of "truth" may be rewarding.

A guest speaker can provide material for virtually any type of expository writing. We have already mentioned comparison-contrast and the research paper. A lecturer may prove to be especially useful as a source for the process paper. A demonstration by a silversmith, for example, gives the students a good illustration of a step by step process that can be described in a composition. The argumentative paper can be set up by having two or more speakers with different points of view, or a panel discussion. This can be especially effective if the students have done some background reading and have prepared questions on the subject. The possibilities for using guest speakers of all sorts in the classroom are almost unlimited.

It is not difficult to find people who are willing to come into the classroom for an hour or two. On the other hand, they won't be flagging you down from the side of the road. The most immediate source material will come from the parents and grandparents of the students themselves, the people who are most directly involved with the students.

Off reservation schools often employ members of minority groups as dormitory attendants and maintenance personnel. The people you need can be found anywhere. One famous linguist did a study of Hopi in New York City; another linguist developed an Acoma grammar in the San Francisco area. Job availability and relocation programs have encouraged Indian mobility in recent years. Often people far away from "home" are especially willing to share their past experience. There is usually no problem in contacting speakers of all sorts. Often the students will be able to make suggestions.

In some cases where it is not possible to bring a certain speaker to the classroom, it may be possible to take the class to the speaker. All sorts of field trips are possible, from a carload to a charter bus. In the past, many teachers found that when certain federal funds were made available for field trips they had difficulty making their trips more than merely entertainment; they can be much more.

When the teacher finds an unusually interesting personality and it is impossible to bring him to the classroom or take the students to him, the resources of the audio-visual department can be put to good use. At the very least, a tape recorder can be used to overcome this barrier. If it is possible the teacher can also prepare slides, either of the speaker or the material, or both, to present with the tape to help hold student attention. Some schools have video tape equipment, which is excellent for this type of project. Some will find that they have a movie camera to bring the speaker to class on film and tape. These same devices can preserve an in-class presentation as well. A great deal of audio-visual equipment is gathering dust in the storeroom waiting for an imaginative teacher.

The available human resources still lie untouched. Medicine men and story tellers, artists and artisans, veterans of America's wars, traders, settlers, retired Navajo policemen and judges - a limitless storehouse of human experience is daily going to waste. It is material of high student interest and unquestionable educational value. It is an experience that will add vitality and relevance to any classroom. In his last years Geronimo peddled photographs of himself around Fort Sill and told stories of the old days. He might have been flattered at an invitation to speak to a school class, but we will never know, for apparently no one ever asked him.

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INDIAN STUDENT LEADERSHIP

AND

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

"Shut Up!" exploded through the chatter of noisy students at the rear of the classroom. The clear and unmistakable command restored silence. Anita Straight Head, still slightly flustered, returned to work.

This minor incident occurred at a workshop in cross-cultural communication sponsored by the Education Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for teachers, administrators, and aides from BIA and public schools throughout the United States. It was held at the Stewart Indian School, Carson City, Nevada in June, 1969.

Even though the incident was minor, it was worthy of note. For it provided tangible evidence that seventeen-year-old Anita, after one week of intensive training, could control a class of adults whose average age was forty-three. One reason Anita's command was so startling, of course, was that this was the only time English had been used in the class. Up to this moment, Anita had been speaking nothing but Sioux - her first language.

Along with thirty other Indian high school students, Anita was demonstrating to adults how an Indian child feels when he enters a strange, English-speaking classroom. Intensively trained to teach their native language, these Indian teenagers were providing an effective mechanism for role-reversal: they were completely in charge of their classes, and the experienced teachers sitting in front of them had become attentive students. This was the first of two phases of student-led activity at the workshop.

Training For Language Teaching

A carefully controlled training structure was partially responsible for the students' success as teachers. Senior staff also spent much time listening to and encouraging the students to build a program of presentations that were honest individual creations. Living together helped build the necessary dialogue.

The model for Indian language training was derived from similar work done with the Peace Corps. In that setting, adult native speakers of a language were trained to teach that language for periods of twelve to fifteen weeks. Written material in the target language was usually available. There was little or no material available in the eight Indian languages to be taught; most material used was prepared phonetically by the students, with the guidance of the course director and trainer. Languages taught were Navajo, Hopi, Crow, Creek, Tewa, Jemez, Sioux, and Yakima.

Most of the students chose to follow the trainer's suggestion for items in each lesson. Traditional greetings, methods for correctly introducing one's self, leave taking, forming simple questions, and identifying objects were suggested parts of these lessons. At the workshop, there were six language lessons; and those areas, reviewed at each session, contained more than enough material.

A regimen developed in Peace Corps language training was used to prepare the Indian students. The first morning a small class of ten senior staff people were taught basic Somali, using the audio-lingual method; this involved listening to and speaking the target language, at the direction of the instructor, who was the model for all of the students. No writing of any kind or speaking in another language was allowed. Prior to this demonstration lesson, the course trainer explained the audio-lingual method, the lesson structure to be used, and the key points of the lesson to note. After the demonstration lesson, the trainer reviewed the lesson with the students, emphasizing the structure and key points in this form of language teaching.

The students were observers at this point. Immediately afterward, they became active participants. The language was changed to Swahili and a group of students were taught using the same method and lesson structure. A similar review and analysis followed this lesson. There were subsequent lessons in Swahili to demonstrate how to organize lessons over a period of days, construct reviews, and involve a class in speaking the new language, using the audio-lingual method.

The training emphasized by example the limited amount of material that the students could expect to present in their six language lessons. Emphasis was placed on pronunciation, intonation and generally correct imitation of the language instructor. The course trainer also introduced humor in the form of songs and jokes which the students could use in their own lesson, to ease participant tension. Of particular importance was the physical behavior of the instructor, which became a model for all the language teachers. The trainer's effective use of his hands, his stance, and his movement in front of the class were all in evidence in most of the Indian language classes during the workshop.

Three days after the first demonstration lesson, the Indian students prepared and presented demonstration lessons to a class of senior staff members. All of the lessons were videotaped and analyzed with the course trainer. This critique enabled the student teachers to review presentation techniques and identify ways that they could help each other. The students were extremely nervous, but excellently prepared and excited over use of the technique. Their first performances were impressive.

Training for Teaching Culture

Another part of the assignment for the Indian students was leading discussions or presenting scenarios on contemporary Indian life and culture, viewed from the perspective of Indian youth. The culture portion was far less directive, and heavily discussion-centered. Students chose eight or nine topics, from traditional legends to home experiences and discussions of boarding school life. About half of the students had taken pains to develop their topics before arrival; most of the rest had random thoughts about what they would do.

Every afternoon during the training week, the students met in small discussion groups, with one senior staff member present as an advisor. At the initial sessions, talk wandered as the students got to know each other and collectively explored subjects they felt the participants should be exposed to. These discussions brought out other student fears in addition to their basic dissatisfaction with some of the senior staff's preconceptions. As they described tribal histories and legends, some students were at first abashed by the presence of white people. There was student feeling that white teachers would not listen to their presentations or would listen and laugh.

At these first discussions, as the students became more comfortable with senior staff people, strains of anger, frustration, and

hostility toward Whites began to emerge, although during the workshop very little, if any, of this appeared between junior staff members and the participants.

As individual student presentations took shape, the discussion groups shifted to practice sessions. Each student was given an opportunity to completely present one of his topics. Each presentation was followed by a group critique - the senior staff role in the critique was sizably reduced as the week progressed.

Unlike the Indian language portion of the course, the structure of the culture portion was more flexible. Students were given suggestions on topic presentation, but not the same strict guidelines that were necessary in language teaching. This difference was responsible for divergent reactions to the Indian students' performance in each portion of the course; individual motivations, preparedness, and personalities assumed greater importance in the less structured Indian culture presentations.

The 350 participants at the three-week workshops gained from both aspects of this student-run course. There was a marked difference between the language and culture training. It accounted for the dramatic success of the first and the relative mediocrity of the second. The language portion stood out most, because it was dramatic and directive. Tension level was highest during the Indian language classes; student teachers, using the audio-lingual method, exercised very firm control over the direction each lesson took. Anita slipped only once, and most other student teachers used only the Indian languages in class.

There was less student control during the second half of the course. The objective of this portion was to provide an overview of the Indian tribal, family, and school life that educators of Indians know little about. A survey conducted prior to the workshop indicated that there was an information gap in this area. Despite this research evidence, participants were far less involved in this half of the course.

Many of the educators, with years of service in Indian schools, felt they already knew what teenagers had to say, unlike the language classes where the student teacher's superiority was readily apparent. Some Indian adults were displeased because the younger generation was critical of tribal life and their elders. Most participants were courteous but silent in class. The less than excited response made some of the students uncomfortable, and some reacted to this by retreating in the face of adult criticism. The more articulate and well prepared students were able to hold their ground and confront participants. All student teachers intimated

that the adults were so convinced of their wealth of knowledge about Indian life and education that they were unable to hear out Indian teenagers.

Most participants come away with a more positive reaction to Indian students. A greater feeling of empathy for Indian children learning English developed in many participants, because of the language classes. Respect for young people operating maturely in an adult situation accounted for other warm feelings toward the junior staff. Subjective explorations of Indian life produced most of the negative feelings, because they seemed to attack what the participants felt were areas of their own competence.

That was not the most serious area of contention, however. Adults reacting with rigid notions of how criticism from young people should be couched was the point of departure for many of the negative responses to Indian culture discussions. As expected, this was particularly true of older White and Indian participants. It was unfortunate that adults who had become so involved in a highly emotional and disciplined language learning experience administered by young and newly trained Indian students, and who had expressed appreciation for the insights those classes gave them about the problems of Indian children learning a new language, were unable to complement this information with the cultural observations the students attempted to provide in the latter part of the course.

In Search of Relevance

The Indian student group that performed so effectively at the workshop had unique resources to offer a largely non-Indian group of educators. Most of the students could speak a tribal language, with varying degrees of skill. All had had home and school experiences which underlined the difficulties of reconciling Indian traditions with the demands of the white man's world. With training, they were able to make unique inputs to an in-service course that emphasized cross-cultural communication.

There is a slightly exotic element to this course when applied to minority groups. This should not be the sole reason for using it in teacher education. Young people are an articulate and critical group today, often anxious for an opportunity to honestly communicate with their elders. Those who drop out mentally and physically from education sometimes express frustration over the inability of teachers to talk with and listen to students. The language learning exercises could help teachers experience student problems, rather than talk about them.

Educators at workshops could listen when disciplined by the demands of learning esoteric Indian languages. They were momentarily spellbound by a dynamic, emotionally consuming technique the students had mastered. Through that experience, participants did generate more empathy for the problems of Indian students. However, most educators who came to that workshop received only 50 percent of the junior staff's total contribution. These adults generally admired the mastery of a specific teaching skill, but were largely insensitive to the substance of and manner in which the Indian high school students expressed feelings, thoughts, and opinions about their culture, homes, and generation.

At a time when much student protest leads to violence, it seems important for educators to develop a more sensitive listening faculty. With supportive adult guidance, high school students can easily learn to teach teachers. Thirty Indian high school students demonstrated this by their work. What is needed next is a better method for training their teachers to listen.

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[Permission granted to reprint excerpts from "'Shut Up, Teacher': A Look at Indian Student Leadership and In-Service Training," which appeared in the JOURNAL OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION (Tempe: Arizona State University) May, 1971.]

PROPOSAL TO DEVELOP A PROJECTION FOR PLANS AND PROGRAMS TO IMPROVE LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIR'S SCHOOLS

In 1971, the BIA Education Office signed a contract with the Center for Applied Linguistics "to develop a projection for plans and programs to improve language education in Bureau of Indian Affairs' Schools." Since the Education Office is keenly aware that some of the educational problems encountered by American Indian children are due to a faulty command of English (an estimated two-thirds of the children in BIA schools do not speak English natively), it is anxious to outline long-range plans for improving the teaching of language in its schools.

The proposal, as presently formulated, will be developed in two phases. Phase I is exploratory, during which information will be collected in some of the following areas: 1) language background of the students; 2) federal and local programs implemented to date; 3) sources now available that can be drawn in curriculum materials, facts, personnel, etc,; 4) a review of recommendations already made for improvement of language education. These include:

1. Bilingual and second language education.
2. Community expectations and language attitudes.
3. Second language acquisition in the context of child language development generally.
4. Tribal education practices.
5. Learning styles.

The second phase will consist of the development of a "phased plan of actions to be taken" by the Education Office. The plan will have the following five sections:

1. Information development processing capability.
2. Strategies for program definition.
3. Testing and evaluation.

4. Classroom support.
5. Administrative organization and procedures.

A great many individual projects for the improvement of language education of American Indian children - involving among other things workshops for teachers and materials development - have been funded in the past by the local and Federal education agencies. But the overall results have not been encouraging. One problem has been that the projects themselves were not coordinated so that each could benefit from the experience of the others. Another problem has been the lack of follow-through. Insufficient attention has been paid to ways in which teachers, given additional training at workshops, would be able to introduce new ideas into their schools. And new materials were sometimes not used beyond the classrooms or school for which they were written. Hopefully, these and other problems can be solved by the development of a long-range, coordinated plan such as the one the CAL is in the process of developing.

AN ENGLISH KINDERGARTEN FOR SPEAKERS OF MICCOSUKEE

The Ahfachkee Day School of Big Cypress Reservation in Florida is by its very nature a monoliterate school. There has never been any concerted effort on the part of the Seminole Tribe to introduce a maintenance model of bilingual education as a curriculum. The main reason is that the Indian language, Micco-Sukki, has never been formalized into a grapheme system. Since the basic aim of the K-3 program is to teach reading and associated skills, instruction is in English from kindergarten on. English becomes the dominant language for almost all teacher-pupil communication.

When I first began teaching at the School, I noticed a number of problems and deficiencies which Seminole third and fourth graders encountered in speaking English. They could not give a coherent, extended explanation or tell a story. Their English morphology was incomplete. Among other things, they had no concept of English past tense formation. In phonology, for example, they maintained the common substitution of /d/ for /ð/ and /θ/.

Early in the school year, I decided to base the curriculum of the kindergarten exclusively on ESL methods. The class consisted of nineteen five-year-olds who belong to a speech community which uses the Seminole language of Miccosukee as its linguistic code. A stimulus given in Miccosukee by a member of the tribe is usually answered first in the native language, secondarily in English.

The most important characteristic of reservation English is its restrictedness. The children learn the language primarily to give and receive everyday messages. It is not used for symbolic operations. There is little progressive language development which eventually allows a child to express abstract thoughts.

The children move in a number of speech fields. Farthest away is the Miccosukee Agency reservation in southern Florida. To communicate there they need Miccosukee. On the Dania Reservation, two languages are needed: Miccosukee and English. Closer to home, in Immokalee, the child probably uses Miccosukee to speak with the small nucleus of Seminoles settled there. When he goes to Clewiston, the center of the reservation's economic life, he needs English. Outside of these areas, the child will usually have to communicate in English.

The instructor used the natural environment to teach the children most of the content vocabulary that they lacked. Pictures were used to teach some of the natural phenomena. But numerous walks around the reservation were the real way of imprinting new words. Counting fence posts, trees, tanks, and trucks became a common feature of hikes. Such activities as mixing paints, pouring water, making collages, modeling with clay, etc., were the action base on which many process words were reinforced. All kinds of tools and instruments used in eating, drawing, building blocks, and playing outside became a way of teaching parts of tools and machines.

Role of Miccosukee

Although the curriculum was based on ESL, the children were free to speak Miccosukee with each other and the para-professional; however, no direct translation of what was said in English was permitted. Usually after a story or blackboard action tale, some of the children gathered around the para-professional and discussed the story in Miccosukee. During the second year, Miccosukee was used as the medium of instruction for presenting many of the skills and basic concepts of new math. Almost all discussion about basic operations was carried on in both languages.

The instructor attempted to learn some simple, basic phrases in Miccosukee. He taught the melodies of some traditional songs in conjunction with Miccosukee words. "Red River Valley" was learned as 'Cini Afacki:', You are happy first. Some phrases in Miccosukee were substituted in Anglo songs. Little white duck became 'fo:ji: wi coska'; sometimes 'ci ti: wi coska', little snake or 'koti: wi coska', little frog.

Cultural Component

Before he begins school, the center of a Seminole child's life is the home. Attending school often confuses the child's world. The Anglo domain at school competes with the Seminole domain of the home. To lessen this problem of competition and misunderstanding, the instructor did a number of things. Miccosukee has

no basic introductory or departing greetings like good morning and good-bye. The children were taught the expressions, but not required to use them. All Anglo concepts of patriotism expressed in songs, the Pledge of Allegiance, etc., were delayed during the first two years of school.

Another way to lessen cultural competition was to integrate Seminole traditions into the classroom, where possible. Parental involvement became a necessity. There appeared to be varying points of view on how much Seminole culture should be taught. The strict traditionalists felt that the school was the domain where their children should learn Anglo ways and thus be able to cope with the complexity of the world outside the reservation. But most of the parents cooperated in the bicultural component. Some mothers came to class and helped the children with beadwork. One mother spent a number of sessions teaching the children how to make palmetto dolls. A couple of grandmothers came and told Seminole folktales to the children. Almost all the mothers helped sew Seminole style dresses for the classroom dolls. There were always volunteers willing to serve as chaperones on field trips. Whenever the class took a walk around the reservation, they invariably stopped at a number of camps to greet parents. Some of the parents just dropped in to eat lunch with their children.

Since most of the parents had never heard their young children speak English, the instructor recorded the children and then played the tapes to the adults as well as the kindergarteners. This gained the instructor widespread support for the ESL based curriculum.

In Summary

A monoliterate kindergarten curriculum requires that a number of techniques from linguistics, education, and anthropology be used concurrently. Diagnosis of the language problems depends on a comparative study of the native language and English and on careful observation of each child's own speaking ability. ESL techniques have to be integrated with the practical reality and interests of the child's every day life. A give and take attitude of exchange on the part of the instructor, a concerted effort to learn the native language of the child and to include his culture (where permitted) in the curriculum heighten the child's interest in and desire of learning.

David Garnett
Albuquerque, New Mexico

FILMS FOR CLASSROOM USE

Teachers who wish to take advantage of the tremendous value to be found in the use of films as teaching aids are often at a loss to know how and where to obtain appropriate films and often are unaware of excellent productions that would aid in their language teaching.

Two new films made especially for use in Indian language programs have recently been announced:

1. A movie of the bilingual teaching program in Alaska has been prepared by the BIA Office of Education Programs. The film demonstrates classroom techniques used in the Bilingual Program of the Bethel District Office under the direction of Walter Featherly, and some approaches to training native teachers. The University of Alaska has assisted with teacher training, evaluation, and development of materials. While the film was made at Akiachak, using Yuk as the native language, the narration and explanation have been translated into Navajo by Willie Morgan, Navajo linguist, so that the film can be shown to Navajo parents as a demonstration of a bilingual program. The film, ESKIMO BILINGUAL EDUCATION, may be requested for a five-day loan from the BIA Instructional Media Center at Brigham City, Utah or from the Educational Planning and Development Branch, Language Arts, P. O. Box 1788, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87103.

2. Through the cooperation of the U. S. Office of Education and the San Juan School District Navajo Curriculum Center, the first of a series of films of animated Navajo Coyote Stories has been completed, depicting Mr. Coyote and Mr. Toad. A second film, "Coyote and Skunk," is soon to be completed. According to SPEAKING OF PROGRESS, a San Juan School District newsletter, much time was spent "finding out what the various animals' images were like in the Coyote Stories" and various types of sketches were submitted

to many people. The researchers found that most people preferred "a mixture of animation (on two legs) and realistic (on four legs)" with some animals preferred in animated form, while others were preferred in realistic form. These films are available with Navajo sound track only, although an English sound track is also being prepared. Rental of the film is $5.00 for one to three days or $7.50 for four to five days. Purchase price is $85.00. These films are available through the office of Mr. Lynn Lee, Coordinator of Indian Education, San Juan School District, P. O. Box 425, Blanding, Utah.

Creative Writing Workshop Filmlist

Teachers who attended the Creative Writing Workshop at Santa Cruz in August, 1971 were recently supplied with a list of the films screened at the workshop, together with a list of film distributors who might be able to supply them with catalogues or bulletins. From this information, we list the films screened at the workshop and the names and addresses of distributors where they may be obtained. Information about availability will need to be obtained from the suppliers.

AUDIO/BRANDON FILMS INC.
1619 North Cherokee
Los Angeles, Calif. 90028
(213) 463-0357
AND
406 Clement Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94118
(415) 752-4800

Any Laurel and Hardy Shorts
Cheyenne Autumn
Golden Age of Comedy
Mass for the Dakota Souix
Red Balloon

CENTER FOR MASS COMMUNICATION OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
440 West 110 St.
New York, New York 10025
(212) UN5-2000

Intrepid Shadows

Plus many more films created by Navajos under a program of Sol Worth and John Adair.

CONTEMPORARY FILMS/McGRAW-HILL
1714 Stockton Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94133
(415) 362-3115

Ballad of the Crowfoot
Begone Dull Care
Clay
Days of Dylan Thomas
Dream of the Wild Horses
God is Dog Spelled Backwards
Les Escargots
Neighbors
Sailing
Sky
Time Is
Time Piece

CREATIVE FILM SOCIETY
14558 Valerio St.
Van Nuys, Calif. 91405
(213) 786-8277

Any Busby Berkeley Excerpt
Ballet Mechanique
Claude
Composition in Blue
Entr'Acte
Lapis
Navajo Rain Chant
Now That the Buffalo's Gone
Un Chien Andalou

EMC/LIFELONG LEARNING
University of Calif.
Extension Media Center
Berkeley, Calif. 94720

Baboon Behavior
Basic Principles of Editing
Dead Birds
Deer and the Forest
Exiles
Eye of the Beholder
Facts About Film
Film Firsts
How to Splice a Film
Invisible Walls
Ishi in Two Worlds
Nanook of the North
Neighbors
Painting with Sand:
A Navajo Ceremony
Place to Stand
Searching Eye
Thinking Seventeen
West and the Wind Blowing
Why Man Creates

PYRAMID FILMS
Box 1048
Santa Monica, Calif. 90406
(213) 828-7577

Basic Film Terms
Cosmos
Dream of Wild Horses
Moon 1969
Offon
Omega
Up is Down

OTHERS:

JANUS FILMS
745 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10022

UNITED ARTISTS/16
729 7th Avenue
New York, New York 10019
(212) 245-6000

STUDENT PUBLICATIONS

One of the most rewarding of teaching tools is the time-honored student publication. Student newspapers provide an opportunity for many students to see their work as a contribution to the affairs of the school community as they report the activities and reflect the opinions of the studentbody. In addition to the school newspaper, many schools also regularly publish a collection of creative writing done by the students. These two types of publications are sometimes combined, and both frequently draw from art departments as well as from English or communications departments.

Of school publications which feature the work of Indian students, the following are some that have come to our attention. They are no doubt only a part of those being produced, and we should like to hear of more that could be announced in future issues of the Newsletter. Often teachers or students of one school would like to exchange their work with other schools. Here, then, is a beginning list:

SHUSH (newspaper)
Wingate High School
Fort Wingate, New Mexico

SHUSH DA BIZAAD (literary)
Language Arts Department
Wingate High School
Fort Wingate, New Mexico

EAGLE VIEWS (newspaper)
Intermountain School
Brigham City, Utah 84302

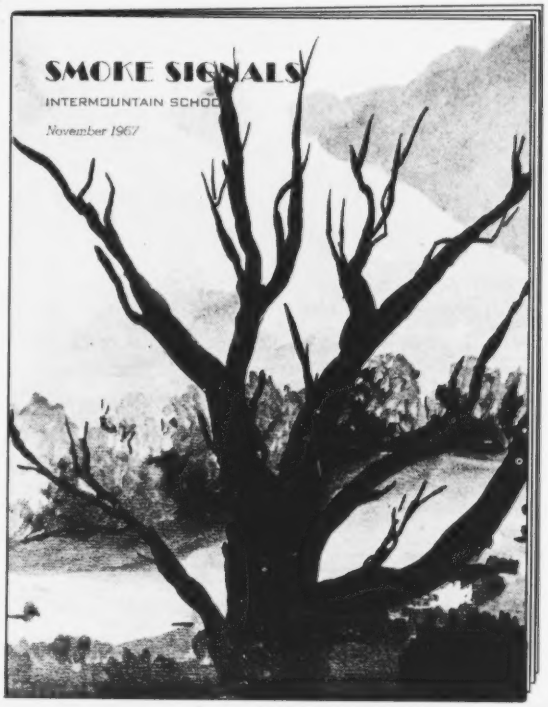
NAATSIILID (literary and art)
Intermountain School
Brigham City, Utah 84302

SMOKE SIGNALS (news, creative writing, art)
Intermountain School
Brigham City, Utah 84302

The Writers' Reader (literary)
Institute of American Indian Art
Carillos Road
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

another season older
By Jimi Dougi

EAGLE VIEWS
WEAVERS TEACH ART TO STUDENTS
DOWNTOWN RECREATION CENTER PROPOSED BY BRIGHAM CITY MAYOR
CAREER ASSEMBLIES AID SENIORS
ACT Scheduled for December
$$$$2.00 $$$$
$$$$2.00 $$$$


SMOKE SIGNALS
INTERMOUNTAIN SCHOO
November 1967

Writers'
FALL 1970
Reader
INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO
Contributors
TONY SOMALLIE
RUDY BANTISTA
JIM TOLLERUD
VERLYS ANTELOPE
MELVIN BROWN
CONNIE McCLOUD
JOSEPH CONCHA
DONNA EAGLE
WESLEY WOLFE
GO RUNNING BEARS GO
YEARBOOK DANCE
SELECT THE BEAR PRINCE & PRINCESS
7:00 - 9:30 CANTEEN
35¢ - Single 50¢ - Couples
NI'CH'ITS'O'SI'
'ASHDLA'AJI NDA'ANISH
(five days work)
THE SHUSH
VOLUME 4
ISSUE 7
WINGATE HIGH SCHOOL
FORT WINGATE
NEW MEXICO
87316
1971
Ghaaji
Shush Da
Anthology
of
Poetry and Verse
By
Institute of American Indian Arts
Students
United States
Department of the Interior
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C.

ANNOUNCEMENTS IN BRIEF

American Indian Historical Society Periodicals

Two periodicals published by the American Indian Historical Society will be of interest to teachers of Indian children. The first, THE INDIAN HISTORIAN, is written for adults, but is rich with resource materials that a creative teacher can use in her classroom in many ways. The second, THE WEEWISH TREE, is for the children themselves to read, and, of course, may also serve as an aid to teachers and parents as they work with children.

Four volumes of THE INDIAN HISTORIAN, a quarterly publication have appeared to date. In addition to the emphasis on history, which the title indicates, the content covers a broad range of interests. Poetry, plays, and essays of literary merit are included, as are book reviews and reports of current Indian activities. In the Summer, 1971, issue, for example, may be found such articles as "American Indian Literature," by William Brandon, and "Oral Literature of Native Alaska," by Mary Beck. Also, William Bright reviews the textbook of the Luiseno language, AN INTRODUCTION TO LUISENO, by Williana Hyde in collaboration with Ronald Langacker and others. In addition, announcement is made of other journals of interest to Indians, such as PEMBROKE MAGAZINE and QUETZAL, both devoted to Indian poetry and both published in Pembroke, North Carolina.

THE WEEWISH TREE, a new magazine for Indian youth between the ages of six and sixteen, is published six times a year. It is described by the publishers as "a magazine of young Native North America, for all the youth of all the Peoples, by the Native Americans." The first issue, November, 1971, is a delightful collection of stories, myths, legends, games, illustrations, and cultural and historical articles written for young people. A "Questions and Answers" section invites Indian and non-Indian

children alike to submit questions about Indian history and life. In addition, a "Dictionary" section offers immediate help for reading the stories. Subscription address:

THE INDIAN HISTORIAN PRESS
1451 Masonic Avenue
San Francisco, California, 94117

Subscription Costs	The Indian Historian	The Weewish Tree
One year	$ 6.00	$ 6.50
Two years	10.00	11.00
Three years	15.00	17.00

Teacher Corps

Teacher Corps programs involving Indian interns:

Sponsor	Tribe	Year Started
University of Nebraska	Sioux	1966
Northern Arizona University	Navajo and Hopi	1968
University of Alaska and Alaska Methodist University	Eskimo, Aleut, and Indian	1970
Southern Colorado State University	Southern Ute	1970
Eastern Montana College	Northern Cheyenne and Crow	1970
Black Hills State College	Sioux and Chippewa	1970
Western Washington State College	Nooksack, Tulalip, and Lummi	1971

For further information write to one of these addresses:

Midwestern Teacher Corps
Recruitment and Referral Center
University of Nebraska at Omaha
3805 North 16th Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68110

Western Center for Recruitment and Referral
Teacher Corps
University of Southern California
3870 Crenshaw Boulevard, Suite 212
Los Angeles, California 90007

Title VII Projects for Indian Languages

Language	1st Year Funding	Project Director and Address
Cherokee	1966	Mr. Herbert Bacon Northeastern State College Tahlequah, Oklahoma 74464
Chocktaw	1970	Mr. Pierce J. Martin McCurtain County Superintendent of Schools, Courthouse Idabel, Oklahoma 74745
Crow Northern Cheyenne Cree	1970	Mr. John Dracon Hardin Public Schools District 17-H 522 North Center Avenue Hardin, Montana 59034
Cree (separate funding)	1971	Mr. Lynn Baker Rocky Boy District #87 Rocky Boy Route Box Elder, Montana 59521
Keresan Navajo	1969	Mr. Arturo Mendez Grants Municipal Schools P. O. Box 8 Grants, New Mexico 87020
Lakota (Sioux)	1971	Miss Carla Fielder Lonemann School Oglala, So. Dakota 57764
Navajo	1969	Mr. Lynn Lee San Juan School District P. O. Box 218 Monticello, Utah 84535
Navajo	1970	Dr. E. Roby Leighton Dine, Inc. Rough Rock Demonstration School Chinle, Arizona 86503
Navajo	1971	Acting Director Bilingual Project Sanostee Boarding School Little Water, New Mexico 87420

Language	1st Year Funding	Project Director and Address
Navajo	1971	Dr. Elizabeth Willink Rock Point Boarding School Chinle, Arizona 86503
Navajo	1971	Mr. Robert K. Chiago Ramah Navajo High School P. O. Box 248 Ramah, New Mexico 87321
Passamaquoddy	1971	Mr. Meredith A. Ring Supervisor, Indian Education Box 291 Calais, Maine 04671
Pomo (bicultural) Spanish	1969	Mr. José de la Peña Ukiah Unified School District School and Henry Streets Ukiah, California 95482
Ute Mountain Ute	1970	Mr. Robert Warner "Project Sun" P. O. Box 1420 Cortez, Colorado 81321
Yuk	1970	Mr. Gary Holthaus State Operated Schools District I 650 International Airport Rd. Anchorage, Alaska 99502
Zuni Navajo	1971	Miss Gloria Carnal Bilingual Project Director P. O. Box 1318 Gallup, New Mexico 87301

[From BIA Curriculum Bulletin No. 3, BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN INDIANS. For details about Title VII projects or submitting proposals, see "The Bilingual Education Act and the American Indian," by Edward A. Tennant, pp. 33-37 in this bulletin, which may be obtained free of charge by writing to: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Language Arts Branch, Box 1788, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87103.]

Local Resource Material

A newly organized Center for American Indian Programs has been established at the University of Utah for the purpose, as announced by the Center, of giving support and supplying "information to various university departments and agencies maintained to give research assistance, service, and training to Indian groups on and off campus." Address:

Center for American Indian Programs
Annex Building
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112

"Speaking of Progress," a monthly newsletter published by the Indian Education Center, San Juan School District, Blanding, Utah. For information, address Lynn Lee, Coordinator of Indian Education, Box 425, Blanding, Utah 84511.

"Education Dialogue," a monthly newsletter of the BIA Office of Education Programs. For information, address Vincent Lovett, BIA Office of Education Programs, 1951 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20242.

"Iyapi Nupa," a bilingual newsletter (Lakota and English) of the Loneman School Bi-Lingual Education Program, Carla Fiedler, Director. Published every two weeks. The following are typical paragraphs taken from the August 18, 1971 issue:

"WHAT IS BILINGUAL?"	"BI Lingual KIN E TAKU HE?"
The word "Bi-lingual" means two languages. "Bi" meaning two and "lingual" meaning language.	Yunkan "Bi-lingual" wicoie kin le "iyapi nupa" kapi. Unkan "Bi" kin "nupa" kapi, na "lin-

The people in the White Clay District are Bi-lingual. In other words, they speak two languages, English and Lakota.

gual" kin "iyapi" kapi. Oyate oyunke kinel unpi kin iuapi nupa unspepi-Lakota na Wasicu iyapi.

Most of the children in this district who come to school, learn to speak Lakota at home and then learn a second language, English, when they come to school. Many children come to school speaking better Lakota than English. These children are expected to learn their subjects in a foreign language. When these children have difficulties with their studies, white teachers often fail to realize that this may be due to a language barrier and teachers label students as unintelligent or uncooperative. Such labeling does not help the child to learn better. Even when a teacher does recognize the source of the difficulty, the present school system gives her no way to deal with the problem. The result is that there is less opportunity for a child whose first language is Lakota, and this leads to failures and dropouts.

Yunkan wakanyeja lila ota oyanke kin el unpi kin tiyata Lak ta iyapi unspeiciciyapi, na to anl wayawa hipi canna, wasicu iyapi icinupa unspeiciciyapi kte he. Tohanl wayawa hipi canna wakanye kin lena hunh Lakota iyapi ecel unspepi na wasicu iyapi tokel okahnigapi ani. Lena tawounspepei kin tokca iyapikin ognayan unspepi kte kin heca. Ognahesna lakota wakanyeja kin lena wounspe taku okahnigapi ani he iyapi tokca unpi heon wekahnigapi sni, keyas wasicu wayawa wicakiye kin hena wakanyeja kin wokahniga okihipi sni na waounspepi cinpi sni ke cinpi. Wayawicakiye kin lecel tawacinpi kin wakanyeja kin iwastepi kte sni. Nakun wayawicakiye kin le ablezapi keyas lehan owayawa kin lena el tuktognani hecel waonspe wicakiyapisni. Leon ca wakanyeja hunh Lakota iyapi hena naohpaniya najinpi, na hunh ins iyotan wayawa inakiyapi.

For copies, address: Carla Fiedler, Director, Bilingual Education Program, Loneman School, Oglala, South Dakota, 57764.

MATERIALS

CONCEPTUAL LEARNING

by

Siegfried Engelmann

Reviewed by Diana M. Allen

Siegfried Engelmann is concerned with teaching - not language teaching or mathematics teaching - but with teaching itself, as an art and a technology. Materials writers and teachers of any discipline might benefit from extending their views beyond the confines of their content fields to the more general perspectives of teaching and learning.

Engelmann is not, however, a theoretician concerned with the psychological machinery involved in learning and teaching. He approaches the teaching process from the point of view of the material to be presented: What is it that we want the child to know? His book, Conceptual Learning, published by Fearon, outlines his basic procedure from the initial analysis of the material to classroom presentation. It is a small book, just over one hundred pages, which is rich in principles, procedures, and practical guidance, but occasionally lacking in examples that would provide maximum clarity and applicability. It is not an easy book.

From the point of view of the language teacher, Engelmann's book requires a great deal of translation from his general teaching principles to their application in a language classroom. Still, these principles can be applied to any content area. Fully developed examples are available in three programs produced under his direction: Distar Language, Distar Reading, and Distar Arithmetic, all published by Science Research Associates for use in beginning elementary classrooms.

The basic unit of Engelmann's teaching is the concept. As Engel-

mann uses the term, concept is a set of differentiating characteristics which can be described according to the uses to which the concept will be put. For example, the concept of water will be described as H_2O if the user of the concept is functioning as a chemist, but its defining characteristics will be cold and wet if he is thirsty. Thus, a concept description is relative, not absolute.

Concepts also occur in coordinate or hierarchical relationships to one another - not as absolutes in an esoteric never-never-land. The characteristics separating chair from bed, for example, will differ from those separating chair from couch; yet all three concepts belong to the larger concept of furniture.

Concepts are learned most efficiently as sets of differentiating characteristics rather than as rote definitions; and characteristics do not differentiate unless there is something to be differentiated from something else. Thus, Engelmann posits both "instances" (e.g., chair) and "not-instances" (e.g., couch is a not-instance of chair) as necessary elements of the teaching situation. A child can learn to correctly identify chair without ever having seen a couch; but he might also call a couch a chair if he has not been taught that discrimination. He might, in other words, have developed the chair concept to include anything that can be sat on, unless the set of distinguishers is specific enough to delimit the concept.

Concepts exist only in relation to a specific universe of instances, the "universe" being the total set of examples both instances and not-instances presented to the learner. The learner, therefore, should be expected to use the concept only in a certain set of situations. Of course, the universe may be gradually expanded, as from chairs and couches to chairs, couches, beds and stools, but the set of distinguishing characteristics will also change.

The teacher presents the universe to the child, but the child develops his own concepts. Since we do not know how concepts are developed, and since we do know that they are not transferable from one mind to another, a technology of learning concepts is not possible. It is possible, however, to control the teaching by analyzing the concepts carefully, presenting the instances and not-instances, eliciting responses from the students to indicate their progress, and providing opportunities for the students to use the concepts.

The first step towards effective teaching, according to Engelmann, is analyzing the concept for the purpose of teaching it. The ana-

lyst identifies the "minimum set of essential discriminations that a learner must make to avoid confusing instances of a concept with those that do not satisfy the concept." The greater the differences between concepts, the less specific the discriminating features; for example, if dog is to be distinguished from elephant, size alone is a sufficient distinction, but if dog is to be distinguished from wolf, the discriminators must be highly specific. Engelmann refers to the first example as a general function between concepts (no single change will convert one concept to another), and the second example as a specific function (it requires a critical discrimination).

For teaching purposes, teaching general functions is inefficient, since the possibility of confusion between concepts is slight. The more specific the function of one concept with respect to another, the greater the possibility of confusion; hence, classroom time is better spent on the specific differences among similar concepts. The notion of language interference seems to be a specific instance of Engelmann's concept of degrees of difficulty: He makes no assumptions about absolute degrees of difficulty, but observes that discrimination becomes more difficult as the steps in converting one concept to another become fewer and more specific. Thus, if a similar expression is structured in a similar way in two different languages, the discriminations the student must learn between them are fewer, more specific, and therefore more difficult. According to Engelmann's principles, language interference is indeed a problem in second language learning; but, rather than being unique to language students, it is the same problem faced by the child learning to distinguish a circle from an oval (as opposed to a square), or purple from violet (as opposed to green).

The analysis of a concept implies both teaching and testing specifications. Once the essential characteristics are identified, the "content" of teaching has been specified. The programmer still has choices in the composition of the universe and in the responses to be used by the learner to demonstrate his grasp of the concept; but what is to be taught is no longer a matter of choice. Testing specifications are also determined by the initial analysis: the test should require the child to demonstrate, according to the responses he has been taught, that he understands the essential characteristics of the concept in relation to the universe of examples he has been taught. In other words, if chair is taught in relation to bed and couch, the learner should not be tested on chair in relation to bed, couch and stool. "Perhaps the principle that is most often violated in education," writes Engelmann, "is that a concept must test that particular concept." The purpose of testing is to evaluate the teaching procedure;

thus, testing procedures occur frequently during the class session, in the form of specific tasks to be performed by the students, to provide information to the teacher about the effectiveness of his presentations.

Aside from the procedures of analyzing and presenting material to students, Engelmann extends his notion of concepts to include classroom attitudes. In a classroom, the usefulness of the material, the learner's image of himself as a successful or unsuccessful learner, the interest and enthusiasm of the teacher (which is associated with the material) are all concepts learned by the student whether or not the teacher consciously attempts to control them. Because of this, Engelmann feels that teachers and teaching programs should consciously attempt to program positive attitudes toward learning along with the material to be learned. Interesting illustrations in textbooks, humorous stories, culture-oriented materials, and programming itself, with its emphasis on minimal failure, are attempts in that direction; but language tests typically ignore the question of usefulness, and teacher behavior and the immediacy of verbal praise or more tangible rewards are hardly available in language texts.

Engelmann also has a concept of teaching which differs from the currently popular ideal of student-centeredness. Students learn, no matter what the teacher does. The question is, What do they learn? That studying a foreign language is merely an intellectual exercise? That English-speakers must be an uninteresting lot if they speak only in substitution drills? Teaching, says Engelmann, is intended to produce desirable learning in a more rapid and efficient manner than unprogrammed or casual exposure to material. The teacher can, by manipulating the environment of the classroom, produce the desired changes in students, which must be demonstrable by the students, that indicate that learning has taken place.

In practice, Engelmann's programs require a good deal of activity and verbal response on the part of his learners. One cannot be certain that learning has occurred unless the student himself demonstrates that it has. Consequently, the classroom procedure includes frequent student response, whether verbal or physical. Yet a student cannot be expected to respond unless the nature of the response has been carefully taught. In this regard, Engelmann carefully distinguishes between "teaching routines" and "tasks." The routines constitute the demonstrations by the teacher of both the concept discriminations and the appropriate or expected responses. The tasks are the behaviors required of the students to demonstrate their ability to express their understanding of the concept according to the appropriate response (pointing, nam-

ing, manipulating objects, etc.). All of this is presupposed by the initial analysis of the concept: What are the differentiating characteristics? And what are the students supposed to do with it? Teaching cannot produce efficient learning without specific answers to both questions before the class ever convenes.

In terms of the language classroom, Engelmann's principles can be applied to the basic concept of Language. What is it? What distinguishes language from other forms of human behavior? What distinguishes nouns from verbs? Is language a body of content? Is it a vehicle for expressing other concepts? It strikes me that language programs typically proceed from the notion that a language is a certain set of features - phonological, morphological and syntactic - which must be mastered if the student is to be a successful learner of a second language. Language, in other words, is defined in terms of its circumscribed linguistic content rather than in terms of its function. We teach our students to "respond" in contextually neutral drills, then test the success of the course according to their ability to converse.

Engelmann remarks that generalization and transfer are not automatic, but must be programmed as carefully as the basic concepts. That is, the routines and demonstrations must contain examples of the concepts in enough different situations to indicate their general application. The tasks must also be varied enough to produce some rudimentary transfer.

At least two different approaches are suggested for language classrooms: First, if the concept of language is described as classes of words and structures, the program is successful to the extent that students can attach the correct labels to examples. And if the means of response taught to the students are dialogue memorization, substitution drills, multiple choice, filling in the blanks or circling items, the program is successful to the extent that students can perform those tasks.

If, on the other hand, the initial description of the language concept includes communication, the question What are they supposed to do with it? implies a different set of classroom tasks: using language, communicating. It might even imply an avoidance of overt attention to language concepts if the ability to talk about language is not a stated objective of the program. The "content" of the language course might therefore be something other than language. The use of adjectives, for example, might be taught, not as observations about the form or function of adjectives, but as a series of non-linguistic concepts, such as color, shape, texture configuation, taste, smell, and so forth, with carefully controlled teaching routines which use adjectives

as signals for the other concepts. The transfer distance from learning to using would thus be reduced. (How often does one define an adjective outside the language classroom?)

Engelmann's CONCEPTUAL LEARNING is an outline of the teaching procedure by a master teacher. It offers no ready-made solutions for language teachers, however, simply because it is independent of subject-area. In fact, his extended examples deal with arithmetic and geological time - both in a highly imaginative way. Geological time, for example, is presented as an instance of piling up: if you examine the banana peelings and sandwich wrappers left in a pile by a person who has just eaten lunch, you can tell the order in which he ate the various foodstuffs. Geological time is the same: whatever is on the bottom of the "pile" in an earth-core sample was deposited first. In a sense, his perception is metaphorical which might prevent his kind of success by a more pedestrian analyst. He insists, however, that a thorough analysis of the concepts to be taught, including their discriminating features and potential uses, as well as the coordinate and hierarchical relationships among them, will provide just such insights.

Postscript

On first reading CONCEPTUAL LEARNING, I felt it to be at odds with Stevick's book, ADAPTING AND WRITING LANGUAGE LESSONS, primarily because of their respective claims to "teaching-centeredness" and "student-centeredness." As I considered the implications of both, however, it appeared that they are complementary: Engelmann is strongest in just those areas slighted by Stevick. How does one decide what is to be taught? How should the material be presented? What drills, demonstrations and responses should be developed in class before the students are sent out to use their newly acquired language skills? How can Stevick's grammatical explorations be transfered into Engelmann's teaching routines? Many language programs sequence grammatical categories on purely linguistic grounds, with examples and drills consisting of randomly selected sentences. Stevick's enthusiasm for the modular approach and socio-topical continuity within language lessons is another way of saying that the universe of examples should be controlled. It is also another way of saying that language is a vehicle for concepts - that is, its definition for pedagogical purposes should be in functional terms.

The two books are closely matched, moreover, in the areas of content-independent concepts, those concerning usability, student interest, and the student's concept of himself as a language learner. Stevick's learner's synopsis is something like Engelmann's

concept analysis, though perhaps not as inclusive; and his concern for the needs of the students governs the responses he would teach.

Both men are teachers of experience and imagination. Stevick is strongest in getting the learned material from classroom to community, and Engelmann is strongest in actual classroom procedure. Otherwise, Stevick's book can be seen as a specific example of Engelmann's general principles; or Engelmann's book can be seen as a general description of Stevick's specific evaluation criteria. Both books are valuable for language teachers.

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EARLY CHILDHOOD BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner. EARLY CHILDHOOD BILINGUAL EDUCATION. MLA, 1971. Reviewed by Rodney W. Young.

Prepared by The Early Childhood Bilingual Education Project, this book represents several contributing authors under the direction of Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner. The general editor is Judith Socolov, and the contributing authors are Tomi D. Berney, Kae Dakin, Anne Eisenberg, Vivian Horner, Vera P. John, Marshall Peller, and Judith Socolov.

The motivation for the book and its central theme is "the need to know about and to contribute to the development of the bilingual child and adult." The key question that the book deals with is whether the bilingual child is disadvantaged in dealing with the world or whether it is the monolingual child who is disadvantaged. Theoretical considerations are included from the disciplines of psychology, socioloy, and pedagogy. The authors review research on bilingual education, and emphasize that research and planning must be viewed within a sociolinguistic framework to be meaningful. Along with the theoretical and research content are descriptions of bilingual programs and a listing of curriculum material sources.

By way of introduction, Vera P. John and Vivian M. Horner review some of the social and political issues surrounding bilingual education. Before World War I the American attitude toward the use of languages other than English, both socially and educationally, was one of tolerance. An exception was made, however, in the case of some of the Indian languages and the African languages brought to America by the slaves. The language heritage from the Blacks was totally supressed by the slave holders, and the Indian languages were weakened by the government's inconsistent

policy toward maintaining tribal autonomy. With the increased nationalism resulting from World War I, policies of "English-only" developed. However, indigenous groups continued to maintain their languages despite pressures as a "bond to past independence and a hope for greater self-determination in the future." Since World War II and increased influence of minority members, the notion of a pluralistic society has increased in popularity, and the socially oriented schools have had to change in order to prepare students for jobs where literacy is essential. The writers emphasize that this challenge to the schools is the most critical for children from "non-white and non-English-speaking minority groups." Political pressures continued to develop, and the Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1968.

John and Horner state that the movement toward bilingual education has been based on the argument that this is a "more humane and enriched" approach that will aid in the development of a more positive self-image and that it is "pedagogically sound" for the children to learn through their native language. If a child's task is bringing order to the world around him and language is important in this process, then use of a weaker language cannot help but confuse the situation.

In addition to the historical background for the book, John and Horner indicate their own bias to provide further perspective for the contents. They state, "The child that enters school with foreign language skills, which would suggest a richer potential than other children bring, all too often leave school with more limited prospects than most of his English-speaking peers." Furthermore, their view of bilingual education is that it be "a mutually developed and mutually experienced process of learning and teaching, involving both majority and minority communities."

Three minority groups are involved in bilingual education projects. Two of the three groups, Mexican-Americans in the Southwest and Puerto Ricans on the East Coast, are Spanish-speaking; the third group, representing various languages, consists of the widely spread American Indians. As John and Horner state,"These three non-English-language-background groups account for a substantial student enrollment in the public schools of the United States." The need for demographic data is critical, since there are few specific figures on the total number of students, numbers of bilinguals, and measures of school success. Further, we do not have adequate demographic information that would provide figures district by district of "what children speak what language." Without such information, it is not possible to assess the need for bilingual education nor the success of present programs.

A major portion of the John and Horner book consists of descriptions of programs by location, information source, and specific kinds of content:

1. Personnel and Teacher Training
2. Curriculum and Materials
3. Parent and Community Role
4. Testing and Evaluation
5. Financing

In addition to program description is a list of bulletins and newsletters published by bilingual programs and educational laboratories.

The training and recruitment of teachers for bilingual programs is the "most pressing" problem. The qualifications looked for in teachers for bilingual programs indicate the difficulty of the problem:

> The teachers being sought are articulate, literate bilinguals, trained or experienced in teaching their specialties in both languages, and certified to teach in the United States schools. Ideally, these teachers produce students literate in both tongues. The teachers should be able to teach English as a Second Language, to teach primary subjects in the mother tongue and in English, and to teach the history and culture associated with the mother tongue.

Staff members generally come from three sources. First, are teachers who are bilingual; the difficulty here is that few of these teachers have used their native language professionally or have studied it. The second source is bilinguals who are interested in becoming teachers, who, like the first group, have seldom studied their native language. Third, are teachers trained in foreign countries; recruitment here has been limited because this group has little experience teaching in English. The teacher emergency is sometimes met by using "paired teachers," each teaching in their native language. Most often, one of the teachers is an aid from the neighborhood.

Training programs for bilingual teachers are expected to stress literacy training in the native language, training in English, and courses in the culture of the non-English-speaking group, as well as training in teaching procedures. Representative training programs fall within six areas:

1. TESL with bilingual and bicultural elements
2. Bilingual summer training
3. Bilingual summer institutes with in-service follow-up

4. Complete undergraduate bilingual education training
5. Complete graduate bilingual education training
6. Special graduate and undergraduate courses in bilingual education

In assessing bilingual programs, several factors have to be considered. First is population. Decisions have to be made as to exactly which children are to be measured. For example, if bilinguals are to be used, a definition of bilingualism will be necessary. A second consideration for evaluation is goals, both general and specific. If a goal is production of bilinguals, the degree of bilingualism needs to be specified and the testing designed to measure this. Other goals should similarly be specified so that testing can be appropriate. Thirdly, educational procedures have to be chosen. For accurate measurement, only one procedure should be used at a time; however, in practice several innovations are generally used together. Practically, this may not matter as long as evaluative conclusions are not made for specific parts of a program. The fourth consideration is choice of assessment techniques. Evaluations of bilinguals generally require instruments to measure one or more of the following: general language competence, intelligence or general ability, and specific skill achievement. These measures may prove useful, but their limitations must be realized. Tests must measure what they are supposed to measure. "Valid conclusions can be drawn only from those specified dependent variables which have been measured." In general, despite limitations, testing in the native language is "an improvement over testing them in English."

Research in bilingual education must take into account the feelings of a non-English-speaking child in school and the problems resulting from cultural-value conflicts. The child may have feelings of conflict and frustration from speaking a language that may be "downgraded by the school and by society as a whole." Furthermore, the child may still have difficulties, even when his first language is used, because of materials and procedures geared to the middle-class values, which may be foreign to his way of life.

Another area of concern for bilingual research is the variety of definitions of what a bilingual is, or the lack of any definition. The term "bilingual education" similarly lacks a consistent definition. John and Horner use Brooks's (1964) definition for a bilingual ("an individual who habitually uses two languages") and Gaarder's (1967) definition of bilingual education ("concurrent use of two languages as media of instruction for a child in a given school in any or all of the school curriculum except the actual study of the languages themselves"). The compound-coordinate distinction of bilingualism is also used. Coordinate bilingual-

ism, a higher degree of proficiency, is when the individual possesses his two languages as separate systems. and compound bilingualism is when the two languages represent a single system.

Research into the role of the second language has gone beyond linguistic interference caused by differences between languages in phonology and syntax. Additional interference comes from the "forced early learning of the second language, before the first language is well established." Studies "strongly" support the idea that too early bilingualism may lead to "intellectual impairment and academic retardation." Other research indicates that when the child has developed his two languages fully, he is facilitated cognitively. However, too much research in bilingualism has ignored the socio-economic and cultural background of the child. "If research in bilingualism is to be effective, it must go beyond the narrow confines of purely linguistic or psychological studies."

A final consideration in this text is the model that the bilingual programs can follow. One such model is "informal" because use of the child's language in the class is largely accidental, brought about by use of aids and parents. "Supplementary" models are characterized by "limited attempts at using two languages as instructional media." The "transition" model is one with a goal of acculturation. A "two-way" model utilizes both languages about equally. "Although theoretical concerns enter into the choice of a model for bilingual education, most bilingual schools develop their curriculum as a function of practical considerations."

In conclusion it can be stated that new ideas in education such as bilingual education will possess little significance if they do not reflect the needs and values of the community.

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ADAPTING AND WRITING LANGUAGE LESSONS

by

Earl W. Stevick

Reviewed by Diana M. Allen

Every ESL teacher should have access to a book called Adapting and Writing Language Lessons, by Earl W. Stevick, published in 1971 by the Foreign Service Institute. It offers a practical, common-sense solution to the problems faced by the teacher whose textbook, while mostly acceptable, fails to meet the particular needs and interests of his students. The major point of the book is that no published language course can be all things to all people; however, rather than rejecting present materials in total or using them as given, individual teachers can tailor available materials to their own classes. The bulk of the volume consists of guidelines for and examples of such adaptation.

From the first page, Stevick makes it clear that he is not merely contributing another chapter to the theoretical discussions surrounding language learning. For pedagogical purposes, he says, the differences between structural and transformational linguistic theory and between behavioral and cognitive learning theory are primarily differences of emphasis. The crucial questions to be asked by language teachers are: What is to be learned - briefly and specifically? What is the nature of learning, as opposed to teaching? And what makes learning happen? The answers to all three questions concern the student as a total social and physiological being, not merely as a linguistic receptacle. Hence, the aims, the purposes, the interests, and the sense of achievement of the students themselves should influence the teacher's choices both of course content and procedure.

Because the emphasis is shifted from teaching to learning, because teachers can induce learning only by motivating students ac-

cording to their felt needs and interests, and because the needs and interests vary from student to student or group to group, the language course which claims to be complete for all target populations is necessarily suspect. A pre-packaged course, says Stevick, cannot provide the student opportunities for transmitting and receiving real messages, for developing personal relationships with people who interest him, or for acquiring knowledge that he can project onto future events that he cares about." The aims of a language course should go beyond understanding and producing sentences to communicating through a number of channels, only one of which involves understanding and producing sentences.

Materials developers typically sequence and grade their materials to present grammatical constructions, lexical content, and sentence types in an orderly fashion from simple to complex and from frequent to less frequent. But the question What can the student do with it? - the practical application - is rarely addressed. Stevick's strategy for customizing language materials, therefore, focuses on providing real occasions for real communication.

The wealth of information in this book is such that no summary can do it justice. For that reason, this review will focus on four major areas: Criteria for evaluating Language Programs, Adapting Language Lessons, The Modular Principle, and Teaching Devices. Stevick's chapters are relatively short, presenting his principles and justifications based on twenty years' work with little-known languages. Beginning with Chapter 3, however, each is followed by six or more self-contained appendices which illustrate these principles in actual language-learning situations.

Criteria for Evaluating Language Programs

The heart of Stevick's book is Chapter 3, "Evaluating and Adapting Language Materials." For practical reasons, involving both time and money, the most viable approach to existing materials is adaptation. Most teachers of Stevick's acquaintance make some alterations in given materials, more or less depending upon the nature of the materials and the experience of the teacher.

As a prelude to adaptation, Stevick outlines criteria for evaluating existing materials from three points of view: qualities, pertaining to the language itself; dimensions, extending to social and topical considerations; and components, concerning the types of language experience provided. Within each area, moreover, Stevick lists more specific evaluators.

Qualities - Every lesson, and every part of a lesson, may be judged by these three qualities:

1. Strength (vs. weakness) deals with authenticity and relevance. Is the content relevant to present needs and likely future needs? Does the lesson provide the vocabulary and structure necessary for the students' goals? Are the materials authentic? Can the students use this information immediately in a life-like way? Preliminary questions include, of course: For what purposes are the students learning this language? What are their interests? What opportunities for using this language are available outside the classroom?

   Further, the strength of a lesson depends upon the potential occurrence of the material in the normal usage of a native speaker. For example, the sentence Your horse had been old is "correct" from any purely grammatical standpoint, but the likelihood of its occurrence is near zero. On the other hand, The book is on the table is possible in a classroom, but less probable in other contexts. A sentence expressing real-life concerns of the students as a native speaker would express them would be relatively stronger.

2. Lightness (vs. heaviness) deals with the purely physical characteristics of the lessons: length of units, length of lines, number of new words or structure, number of difficult sounds, and so forth. Are the students inordinately taxed by the length and difficulty of the lesson, line or unit? As with strength, lightness depends to a great extent on the native language of the students, their age and maturity, and their motivation. The individual teacher should assess these qualities in terms of each class.

3. Transparency(vs. opacity) deals with the organization of the course. Are the units and their relationships clear? Is it easy for the teacher to find where a point has been covered? Do students know what they are doing and why they are doing it? Can the teacher find places to change or augment the lesson without destroying it? Can meanings be conveyed without translation?

Transparency can certainly be built into a program, as can the length characteristics of lightness. Strength, on the other hand, depends on adaptation to current needs. None are absolute virtues, however, since without some relative weakness and heaviness, practice and progress would not be possible.

Dimensions - Stevick's three dimensions for evalutation are:

1. Linguistic: Is the linguistic content relatively independent

of age, occupation or special interests? Are the phonetic patterns and structural devices really basic?

2. Social: Who would say these things to whom, and under what conditions? Both social and occupational status should be considered, since both content and manner of speaking are determined by the status of the speakers. Also, the matter of contextual consistency among examples can be evaluated along the social dimension. Stevick remarks, for example, that Have you met the ambassador? is not compatible with Have you brushed your teeth? From a linguistic standpoint, the two questions are of a kind; but within a social context, they lack continuity. Drills particularly are most often socially neutral. Stevick suggests that attention to social continuity throughout a lesson or unit, in contexts real to the students, strengthens that unit.

3. Topical: What do the students need or want to talk about? Topical areas can include greetings and general phrases for conversation; street directions; subject matter areas, and so forth - some with broad interest, others more specialized.

The social and topical dimensions can be arranged into a two - dimensional chart, which Stevick calls a socio-topical matrix, in which the topics of conversation are plotted according to usage level relative to the potential conversers. For example, students might practice using greetings or asking street directions of a colleague, a policeman, an adult stranger, or a teacher. Such a matrix is useful both for evaluating a text or for assessing the needs of a class; adding the linguistic dimension to the matrix can provide an outline for an entire course: the basic language, plus the social contexts, plus the relevant topics in terms of that class.

Components - The final set of criteria for evaluation are the four components of language lessons. These are not necessarily procedures, but underlying ingredients which can be approached in a variety of ways. Each lesson, Stevick states, should include:

1. Occasions for language use, with language as a means rather than an end. Such occasions can take the form of establishing real social relationships with real people; eliciting or imparting real information; learning or imparting useful skills; learning to make culturally relevant judgments; or simply doing things for fun. In each case, the primary aim is extra-linguistic, with language as a vehicle - which is, after all, why we use language at all. Some of these occasions should involve muscular activity, but in any case should be useful, specific, and stimulating.

2. Each lesson should also include a sample of language use which is long enough to be useful (two-line dialogues are too short), short enough to be covered in class time, and related to the socio-topical matrix that students accept as expressing their needs and interests. Dialogues, if well-written, are samples of language use. Other possibilities are the "action chain," a series of activities normally occurring in sequence (I get up. I bathe. I get dressed.); technical processes, public ceremonies, and so forth. For more advanced students, a short passage of expository or narrative prose could be used. The sample of language use should be lexically and structurally related to the rest of the lesson, at least in part, so that it is integral to the lesson. Gesture, bodily activity, and facial expression should also be included, since language in use involves the entire communication event.

3. Lexical exploration should also be provided. The student should have the opportunity to expand his ability to recognize or produce the right word at the right time through active, creative, and partially unprescribed exercises. The simplest form is a list of words related to both the basic sample of use and projected occasions for use. A frequent technique is to have students fill a blank in a sentence from a list of words provided. Other devices include role-playing, with, for example, a dialogue of marketing practices in the target culture, the lexical exploration occurring in the area of foodstuffs.

4. Finally, students should be given opportunities for exploration of structural relationships. This is the traditional study of grammar, which ordinarily receives the bulk of attention in printed texts. Its forms are drills, dialogues, charts and diagrams, and grammatical notes or explanations. Stevick has least to say in this area.

Stevick neither condemns nor endorses any techniques of language teaching that have been developed and used over the years. The impressiveness of his evaluation techniques lies more in the direction of his emphasis on the students and on the social uses of language than on the purely linguistic and pedagogical considerations of sequencing and gradation. He says, in fact, that sequencing is far less important than helping the students to say what they want to say. Throughout the book, he stresses the usability of the language - as perceived by the students - as the crucial ingredient of language study. The first step in providing the most immediately beneficial materials to a group of students is to evaluate available materials, by these criteria, in terms of the students at hand. Ideally, both the evaluation

and adaptation processes would be repeated for each new group of students.

Adapting Language Lessons

The purpose of adapting language lessons, according to Stevick, is to bridge the gap between manipulation and communication, between the classroom and real life. The section of adaptation is more a strategy than a blueprint, since both students and texts vary so widely. The adapter should make a careful survey of both his classroom and the students' life outside the classroom, then use whatever means at his disposal to effect a continuity between them. Exactly what he will do depends on the text at hand and the students; but, as Stevick remarks, "his most creative contribution will probably lie in suggesting how the learners can make early and convincing use of what they have just learned to manipulate."

Steps in the adaptation procedure are:

1. Assess the students' needs and possible responses according to the three dimensions of evaluation: linguistic, social, and topical.
2. Evaluate the existing material in the same three dimensions.
3. Compare the results of the first two steps to see what needs to be added or subtracted.
4. Compile a list of potential uses of language, stated in behavioral terms: What specific activities can the learners be expected to perform? This is the most important step, says Stevick, since it opens up potential motivational power.
5. Supply the necessary dialogues, drills, language samples, etc., to move the students as quickly as possible from mastery of the existing materials to the uses listed in step 4. The adapter should remember that "any topic may be treated at any degree of linguistic difficulty."

Chapter 3 is followed by six appendices, each an example of evaluating and adapting a different lesson type in a different language for a different learning group. The author states that the chapter is incomplete without one or more of its appendices. There is also a chapter on "Writing Adaptable Materials," with its own set of appendices, which is based on the assumption that each class, each student, has unique needs and interests. Therefore, the writer of original materials should strive for maximum adaptability rather than for universal appropriateness and permanence.

The Modular Principle

One means of achieving maximum adaptability is to produce materials as a series of "modules" rather than as a rigidly sequenced program. For true modularity, the user must have real options, both in what parts to use and in which order to use them. According to this principle, the modules of any given program must be independent of one another.

Stevick states that such flexibility is not particularly new, but has gained impetus in recent years through the experience of training Peace Corps volunteers for diverse tasks within a single culture. Since the volunteers would have different language needs, parallel versions of the course were developed, differing mainly in subject matter.

For example, a course in Kituba consists of one central and five optional modules: a primer and five subject oriented groups of lessons which presuppose the grammar and vocabulary of the primer, but are independent of each other. A variation of the principle is illustrated by a modular program of elementary Vietnamese, each module beginning with grammar and basic vocabulary so that they are completely independent. Each group of lessons aims at accurate conversation on a particular topic.

Modularity on a large scale suggests that, rather than being bound in a single volume, each of the major components of a language course can be presented as a series of self-contained modules from which the students and teacher can select activities according to their needs in a particular class. Thus, phonetic drills, a reference grammar, dialogues, sentence drills, readings, and so forth, would be available as needed, but not rigidly prescribed. Phonetic drills could be selected only for those sounds which proved troublesome for the students involved. Depending on the language background of the class, different classes would make different choices.

On a smaller scale, individual lessons can be designed so that their dialogues, drills, and grammar practice could be arranged according to individual needs, and replaced, if necessary, with a minimum of disturbance to the aims of the original lesson.

The greatest advantage of the modular approach to language teaching is that the linguistic needs of particular groups, in terms of both their language backgrounds and their potential uses of the target language, can be met with a minimum of frustration or redundancy. Difficult areas can be emphasized, while easier areas can be minimized or skipped altogether. Further, the interests

of the students can be placed in a central position by means of alternate subject areas covering identical grammatical features. Readings and dialogues can be designed in different sets for different students.

Teaching Devices

While recognizing that practice drills of various sorts are essential in a language classroom, Stevick explores a number of other devices which are not, apparently, as widely used, but which he has found to be especially effective. The first, the learner's synopsis, concerns the basic grammar to be learned; the others, Cummings devices and microtexts, concern language as communication.

The Learner's Synopsis. - This is a short overview of the total grammar of the target language, accounting for, perhaps, 95% of the unexceptional structures of the language. It should be less detailed than a reference grammar so that it can be used with a minimum of confusion. With the addition of self-testing frames, it can be used for self-instruction.

Stevick's steps for the construction of a learner's synposis are:

1. Write an essay on the structure of the target language, omitting examples at this point to assure continuity and clarity of expression.
2. Divide the essay into sections at points where examples are needed; number the sections for cross-referencing.
3. Select a field or fields of interest for limited content vocabulary; parallel versions should be considered at this point.
4. Prepare examples.
5. Insert the examples at the points marked in the essay.
6. Prepare self-testing frames.
7. Add any interpretive material that seems desirable.

The appendices at the end of the chapter present examples from Thai, Swahili, and Kiundi. A learner's synopsis is useful in that it displays the essential grammar in one place, compactly, and serves as an overview of the course.

Cummings Devices. - Based on the observation that all languages have only a few question-types and a few question-words, and on

the assumption that students retain material better when they can use it in real communication, the Cummings device is essentially a dialogue which consists of a basic question or statement with four to eight potential rejoinders. It differs from the typical dialogue in that students are taught to use questions to elicit new words and new information about any interest area. Further, the interval from the initial learning phase to conversation and communication is extremely short.

In writing Cummings devices, attention is given to length of utterances, subject matter, ease of replacing items (multiplicity of potential rejoinders), idiomatic use of language, usability of the items outside the classroom. Stevick suggests that such devices should be followed by opportunities for cultural experience, in which the students are expected to choose from among the alternatives they have learned the responses meaningful to the situation.

At its simplest level, the question may be What is this? The difference between the Cummings principle and a question-answer drill is that the potential answers are multiplied by using real objects in the room rather than cue words. It is, further, a question that can be used outside the classroom to elicit vocabulary from anyone on any subject. At a more advanced level, the question may be What will you use to (eat with) (sit on) (wrap around your head) - a question that can be adapted to any subject area.

The Cummings device is actually what Stevick calls an ancient format. The recent emphasis it has received is due less to the format than to the principle of immediate usability. The time required between introduction to practice should be very short; the Cummings device is a means to that end.

Microtexts. - By definition, a microtext is a small amount of monologue on a subject of interest, followed by guides to immediate use in a number of ways. Potential sources of microtexts are newspapers, cookbooks, radio-broadcasts, a so forth - authentic samples of language in use rather than textbook readings. Stevick maintains that the fact that the students know these are real communication events is an advantage which can be exploited even further by allowing the students to select the topic or even the text. The teacher can increase the awareness of the original function of the material by emphasizing the factual content as well as the linguistic.

In view of the qualities of lightness and transparency discussed above, microtexts may require editing by the teacher, which

could range from partial rewriting of one or two sentences to a complete revision retaining only the vocabulary of the original. The aim is to communicate rather than bewilder the students; hence, the level of their mastery of the target language should be considered.

Classroom activities with microtexts can include oral comprehension exercises, role-playing, dictation, intensive questions; or they can serve as the basis for drills.

Conclusion

Stevick's book is valuable for a number of reasons. First, it is obviously based on the experience of a teacher of languages, not on alignments with one or another school of linguistic or pedagogical theory. It emphasizes the role of the student in the learning process and the necessity for using a language in order to learn it. The community is given prominence, both as a source of linguistic material to supplement the textbook and as a source of communication experience for students. Language, in short, is treated as a means of communication rather than as a closed content area - which some textbooks imply.

The applicability of some of Stevick's suggestions depends to a certain extent on the nature and locale of the language classroom. For American Indians whose community is the native culture, communication experiences with native speakers of English will necessarily be limited. Teachers can, nevertheless, provide such experiences by acting as "outsiders" for each other, by inviting visitors to the classroom, or by taking the students on field trips. And they can certainly consider the students' interests as they plan their classes. If the students perceive the purpose of learning English to be solely for its own sake, success is bound to be limited.

As a practical guide to adapting available materials to immediate use, Stevick's book is indispensable. His discussions and step-by-step procedures are clear and convincing; and the multitude of extended, concrete examples make the book highly usable. He has not, however, reduced the art of language teaching to a neatly foolproof system; he has instead formalized the demands of that art.

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STORIES IN TWO LANGUAGES

LAKOTA

THE ENEMY'S LEG

Lakota kin toka kin hena tuktel awicakipapi cin s'a heun tokel okihi anatan našna anhe eyašna awicapapi s'a na he icitona kte hecin na hel glatanin hingla s'a / yunkan lehan waȟca keya hu pestostola ca tuktel oblaye cokan hiyeya cana anatanpi na anhe eya hingla- šna apapi našna iyopta iyayapi na he wana toka ktepi keyapi s'a / hena hu pestostola kin heun hena taku ocinšicacake s'elececa heun hecunpi na takuni lecel kuwapi šni tka le tokahu eceyapi kin lecela hecel kuwapi s'a /

[From Teton Dakota Texts, by George Bushotter. Manuscripts deposited with the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. Originally collected in 1887-1888 under the direction of J. Owen Dorsey. Free translations by William K. Powers, Department of Anthropology, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.]

LAKOTA

THE ENEMY'S LEG

[Free Translation]

Wherever the Lakota met the enemy, there was always one warrior who wanted to be first to kill, and by whatever means possible he struck the enemy saying, "Anhe!" And however many enemies he struck, each time he made it known by calling out, "Anhe!"

There is a plant with sharp points that grows in the middle of the prairie that the warriors used to charge and strike, crying out, "Anhe!" as they went along. They said that they were killing enemies and that the sharp pointed grass appeared to be threatening; that is why they did it.

No other plant is treated this way except the one called "tokahu," the enemy's leg.

("Tokahu" is identified by James Owen Dorsey as the thistle, *carduus lanceolatus*.)

CROW

Ú:XSHEWIA:TU:K

Apsá:loke amma:shío hám íttu:k. Hinné hawátam shíot sá:pahku:lak balia:chia:sh há:kse kan balasáxchi:k.

It balé ba:ká:tam basahká:le ba:mnía:t, "Hilík ú:xshewia:takah," het sá:pahchelak balé ala:xtía:sh, hinné kan bi:wa:isá:k ba:wa:lasáxchia hilá kan éwahchek.

Bilaxpá:kem ahkúxdetak alihchíaxohche xía:ssa:k na:htát ko:tá: ahkúxdetak sá:pem día:k ilú:ka:shtak, ú:xshewia:tak hua ko:té kóuk.

I:wa:xía:ssa: dia:wa:áhmik; it balé ba:ká:tam awáxpua: hawátam alata:wíkawia:le i:shé:m á:kanne:wa:k ishtichésh ba:wot, shia:ssá: bía dú:shka:hak balé dakkúkku:wit é:tshiwa:kala:ilu:k. Ko:tí:hma:chim éwahkua: i:shét i:walú:wot, da:ché:ta hambalé dassachít bíluk hilá balísua: ba:tchá:chi:k.

Basahka:lua: kushbi:wí:lewot, "Di:ú:xshewia:tu:m ko:tásht," heik.

Alashé dá:lua mishkú:xshewiatah hu:k. I:wa:xía:sse, mishké:m nú:shtaxipen dá:piak dí:kusshi:lelak chí:se ná:luhchissiak, di:pí:sheleihma:chik.

Dé:la mía:kalishtem áxpakxawi:ka:ssa:k ko:tá: nappe:dá:lak, awé:lasshi:ta:ku:laht ko:tá: mi:sa:há:k chimmíchinnaku:lak, mishkú:xshewiatak hua kouk.

Written by Joy Y. Toineeta
Title VII Bilingual Education
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CROW

THE DEER WHO COURTS DEATH

Some of the wise sayings of the Crow Indians are very good. There is one that I always wondered about. Finally I understood.

While we were yet children, my grandmother would say, "You are like a deer who wants to die."

We did not have any idea what the saying meant until we grew older. When a person is stubbornly persistent even when he knows what the consequence of his act will be, he is said to be "like a deer who wishes to die."

For example, while we were yet children, one of the boys had an ugly disposition and was quick tempered. We would tease him until he dug up stones to throw at us. We always scattered, but sometimes we were not quick enough and got hit.

When we ran to our grandmother, crying, and tattled, she would say, "That is what you get for being like a deer who wishes to die."

There is another saying which is the original one. It is: "He is like a dog who wants to die like a deer."

An example is: You might kick a dog in the ribs and turn around to find the dog still at your heels with his tail tucked between his legs.

This is also applied to a young woman who is married to an abusive man. Even when she is beaten and thrown out of his lodge, she whimpers and crawls back in for more abuse. She is said to be "a dog who courts death like a deer!"

[Crow orthography as it is presently in use.]

KAROK

COYOTE LAYS DOWN THE LAW

(1) Kunpiip, "Xâatik áppap yúruk uvuunúpahiti, káru áppap káruk uvuunôovuti. (2) Xâatik vaa ukupiti." (3) Kári xás cémmi. (4) Vaa uum vura payúruk tá kunvíitrup tuzívruuhrup yúruk. (5) Izyáruk kúna úpviitroovees, uzívruuhroovees káru, káruk uvuunôovahiti pa?íssaha.

(6) Kári xás Pihnêefic uppiip, "Púuhara. (7) Xáyfaat vaa ukupiti. (8) Koovúra yúruk kámvuunupahiti. (9) Vaa uum vúra kâan ifmaaráppiit kamíktaatroovuti, káruk uvítroovuti."

(10) Kári xás kúna kunpiip, "Asiktávaan pamukun?áttimnam máruk tá kunsánnaan. (11) Púyava máruk xás áhup sú? tá kunmáhyaan, túr tá kunîkyav. (12) Kári xás tá kunpávyiihsip pa?asiktávaansa. (13) Kári xás vaa vúra kâan tá kun?íitsur pamukúntur." (14) Xás kunpiip, "Vaa vúra kun?írunaatihees pattur."

(15) Kári xás Pihnêefic ?uppiip, "Xáyfaat, púuhara. (16) Vúra uum yararáppiit vúra kámtuunti." Kári xás vaa ukupíti payêem, tá pu?áhootihara pattur.

Told by Nettie Reuban, northwestern California
Collected by William Bright
[This story was published, in a more technical spelling, in THE KAROK LANGUAGE by William Bright (Berkeley, 1957), pp. 200-203.]

KAROK

COYOTE LAYS DOWN THE LAW

(1) People once said, "Let the river flow downstream on one side, and upstream on the other side. (2) Let it do like that." (3) So all right. (4) That way, when they traveled downstream by boat, they floated downstream. (5) They would travel back upstream on the other side of the river, floating upstream too, as the water flowed upstream.

(6) But then Coyote said, "No. (7) Let it not do that. (8) Let it all flow downstream. (9) Let the young husband have to push his way upstream, when he travels upstream."

(10) And next they said, "Women carry their pack-baskets uphill. (11) They put wood in them up there, they make a basket-load. (12) Then the women leave for home. (13) They just leave their basket-loads there." (14) They said, "The basket-loads will walk home by themselves."

(15) But then Coyote said, "No, don't. (16) Let the young wife have to carry the load." (17) So that's the way it is now, the basket-load doesn't walk any more.

A Note on Transcription

The Karok version of this story is spelled in as simple a way as possible for practical purposes. Note the following values of letters:

c is like ch in English church.
s is similar to the English, except that after i or e it is pronounced like sh in ship.
x is a rasping sound in the back of the mouth, like the ch in German Bach or the J in Spanish José.
z is like the th in English thing.
All the vowels have the sounds that they would have in Spanish spelling, but the double vowels (aa etc.) are twice as long.

Accented vowels have a high level pitch when written with the acute accent (á etc.), but long vowels have falling pitch when written with the circumflex accent (âa etc.).